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## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

PTA STATES TO ESTABLISH COMMON TARRIF POLICY

MB201238 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 20 Dec 82

[Text] The Preferential Trade Area, PTA, has set out to establish a common tariff policy among all member states to ease trade. The policy will enable trade to be conducted among member countries without any barriers restricting it. The arrangement was announced last night by Economic Commission for Africa Executive Secretary Professor Adebayo Adedeji during the Sunday interview program.

Professor Adedeji said under the arrangement, the special treatment would be accorded to member states on an equal basis, and in those cases regarding trade by some countries they would be given more preference depending on their position. He gave an example of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland to be considered for preferential trade considerations because of their proximity to racist South Africa.

Professor Adedeji said among the instruments that have been established were clearing and payment houses, trade and development banks, adding that, with the use of these instruments, a member country of the PTA would not need foreign exchange to enter into a transaction with a fellow member state. He, however, emphasized the need for teamwork if the venture was to succeed.

CSO: 3400/468

## INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

NEW TRADE AREA PROBLEMS--The financial future of the new preferential trade area linking 13 southern and east African countries is still in doubt. The organization's summit conference has ended in Lusaka, Zambia, with the election of President Kaurda as chairman for the coming year and Mr (Senyana Tiyingi) of Uganda as secretary general. The states have pledged to help each other and to lower trade barriers as a first step toward forming a common market. Four states in the region which have not joined have been invited to do so, and a \$1.7 million budget has been approved for the coming year. However, only three countries have paid their share of the expenses and there is less than half a million dollars left to come despite repeated appeals for more money. [Text] [MB180933 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 18 Dec 82]

CSO: 3400/485



## FLEC DESERTER REPORTS DISSENSION AMONG OFFICIALS

Paris AFRIQUE DEFENSE in French No 56, Nov 82 p 19

[Text] The members of the Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave (FLEC) "no longer amount to anything more than a handful of bandits and their activities are practically nonexistent," AFP was told by the Tando-Zinze communal commissioner. According to regional officials, the "FLEC bandits" only come out of the forest, starving, in order to attack civilian vehicles to steal food. According to other sources, FLEC is reportedly no longer able to occupy the terrain and is very weakened by the dissension between leaders that has split the group into several factions.

The FLEC soldiers are in the regions of Tando-Zinze (southeast of the Zairian border), Necuto-Luango (northeast of the Zairian border) and Massabi-Sanga Mongo (west-central region, on the Congolese border). A few others are also hiding in the dense forest in the Mayumbi region (central area), the same sources say.

Only the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] provide border security and the Cuban forces, numbering a few thousand, live in camps near the capital. The Cubans have not intervened against the FLEC since 1979 and constitute a reserve force called upon to intervene in case of serious situations. The Tando-Zinze region, almost totally occupied by the FLEC in 1977, is now controlled by the FAPLA.

Some 4,000 Angolans who fled to Zaire, the *retornados*, have already returned home, authorities say. They are gradually going back to their native villages. Initially, the women return alone, followed by the men after discreet contact with their wives and sisters. In some villages hard hit by fighting, the refugees are building new homes. The village of Bonde Grande was invaded by the FLEC in March 1976. Some 34 villagers, including women and children, were killed. According to eye-witness accounts, the homes were looted and the sheet metal roofs sold in Zaire. The fronts of houses and the church are riddled with bullet holes and the homes of members of the MPLA were blown up. While 500 persons lived in Bonde Grande, the village was deserted from 1976 to 1978, with some joining the FLEC in Zaire and others the government forces in Cabinda. Today, 375 persons have returned to the fields. "Look how peaceful it is," the AFP was told by the communal commissioner who, like all regional officials, never lets go of his automatic rifle.

## Interview

Members of the FLEC are now very few in number and the drop is explained by the dissension between leaders, said M. C., formerly a second lieutenant in the FLEC forces.

"Now we are not very strong and morale is low. We have suffered too long from a lack of everything. Soldiers must be content with manioc and bananas to eat. When one of us is wounded, there is no medical care. Many comrades died uselessly for lack of attention," he told us. "This year, the FLEC continues to carry out small operations in the northern region of the province against military vehicles or FAPLA patrols. In the last two months, we launched two attacks on military cars on the Tando-Zinze road and had plans to continue that type of operation," M. C. added. "It took me several years," the young former FLEC officer continued, "to understand that I had been deceived, that the movement was growing weaker and that it could not put its ideas into practice. Since 1978, the date of the meeting between Angolan and Zairian presidents Neto and Mobutu, Zaire has played a double game, sometimes weakening us and sometimes helping us. We are now forced to leave our weapons at our military positions in Angola."

This former officer believes that too many promises were made and not kept and that it was no longer possible to continue such a hard life. "We have but one possibility left," he said: "To go to the UN refugee camps in Zaire." But in his opinion, it is not all over because FLEC soldiers are fleeing to camps serving as a rest base between military operations and FLEC leaders bring pressure on recalcitrant soldiers in order to send them back into the fighting. Furthermore, "every faction has its partisans in the camps and many conflicts occur right in the camps."

"When I returned to Angola, I was afraid. I had been told that I would be subjected to questioning and mistreated, then killed. But," he concluded smiling, "yesterday I turned over my two weapons to the authorities and I am still alive."

11,464  
CSO: 3419/298

## CUBAN, SOVIET PRESENCE, STRATEGY ANALYZED

Pretoria ISSUP STRATEGIC REVIEW in English Nov 82 pp 17-23

[Article: "The Soviet-Cuban Strategy in Angola"]

[Text]

A major problem of the Soviet-Cuban involvement in Angola, is to decide whether their strategies are formulated according to a grand plan. Grand plans have, however, to compromise with realities. Although in the pure ideological context, Soviet-Cuban activities should always in the final instance be related to the pursuance of communist ideals, their activities do not always necessarily reflect a global and/or regional attitude. This is especially true where situations unpredictably develop. This necessitates a country-by-country evaluation of strategic considerations.<sup>39)</sup> Care must therefore be taken to avoid relating the Soviet-Cuban mission in Africa to generalizations.

Not quite unrelated to this aspect, are two extreme views relating to the Soviet-Cuban foreign policy relationship. Whereas Cuba is generally perceived as being a surrogate of the Soviet Union, a second school of thought stresses the role of Cuba as an unconstrained autonomous actor. In this context it would be more correct to speak of Soviet and Cuban *ad hoc* policies, than a comprehensive African policy. The truth lies in between these extremes. Although due consideration must be given to mutual constraints and leverages which make it possible for Cuba to produce limited inputs into the Soviet decision-making process regarding the Third World, thereby enhancing leverage for an increase in Soviet military and economic aid, the opposite is of far greater importance. The fact cannot be ignored that the Soviet Union represents the most important and dominating external environmental and intrusive parameters of Cuban foreign policy. Although having a privileged position as a Soviet ally, Cuba still has to operate within the broader framework of Soviet policy directives. The reality remains that Cuba cannot operate without Soviet support, as was proved by the logistical and air and sealift capacity of the Soviet Union during the 1975-76 Civil War. A proxy situation thus developed, which constituted an organic relationship in which the realization of each government's goals depends on the support and actions of the other.

Nevertheless, a formula for Soviet-Cuban strategies can be envisaged. This entails a highly selective, incremental, opportunistic, ideologically justified and irreversible process of intervention. Other preconditions are the expectance of a quick victory, a lack of reaction by adversaries and a political impact acceptable to allies and the governments of host states. The Soviet-Cuban approach can be described as one of the

exploitation of opportunities when they arise, preferably through military rather than other means. In this context, success becomes guaranteed by the use of overwhelming or unopposed force. In conclusion the Soviet and Cuban objectives and strategies can be termed harmonious and complementary, but not necessarily synonymous.

### Implications of the Continued Soviet-Cuban Involvement in Angola

The continued Soviet-Cuban presence in Angola must be evaluated at three levels, that is, national, regional and global. Within each context, different issues tend to dominate.

At the national level, the foreign intervention is directly aimed at the maintenance and perpetuation of MPLA rule in Angola. In this respect it is a case of Soviet-Cuban involvement not only safeguarding the MPLA against the relatively successful UNITA onslaught, but also preventing any future revolt or disloyalty from within the rank and file of the MPLA party structure, as has previously been the case. During the past few years it has become increasingly clear that the MPLA is having difficulty in controlling and containing the UNITA insurrection in Southern Angola. Although propaganda campaigns on both sides have confused the issue, UNITA has since 1975 been instrumental in preventing the normal use of the Benguela railroad, as well as in undermining MPLA control over large parts of Southern Angola. As an anti-UNITA initiative, a Cuban force of reportedly between 10 000 and 15 000 troops supported by armour, has been assembled in Southern Angola, as well as a contingent of 2 000 East German paratroopers, purportedly to train black paratroopers. Their main objective is to give active assistance to the MPLA anti-UNITA drive. This is a significant departure from the previous back-room role allotted to the Cuban and other proxy forces.

At the regional level, the Soviet-Cuban involvement is far more complex than generally believed. Although it can be related to the whole sub-continent, reference is made only to support given to the protracted insurgency in South West Africa/Namibia. In view of its possible effect on the prospect of regional stability in Southern Angola, this facet of external intervention is of great importance. The viewpoint of the Angola authorities has since 1975 been one that the problem of Cubans in Angola is the direct result of the problem of Namibia. Where it has initially been believed that the continued Soviet-Cuban presence was mainly a reaction to UNITA resistance, it has now become clear that Namibia is the focal point. The possibility is not to be excluded that foreign troops will become more actively involved in the SWAPO campaign directed at the South African territorial force in Namibia. This would more so be the case, following successful South African cross-border raids into Angola, aimed at destroying the military and political back-up infrastructure of SWAPO.

As Mr Theo Ben-Gurirab, SWAPO's representative to the UN, recently stated, Cubans would give direct support to SWAPO. This is accepted by the Angolan government who has given the assurance that the Cubans and East Germans will not leave Angola, before an election has been held in Namibia in terms of Resolution 435 of the UN Security Council, and the situation has "stabilized". According to the Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr P Jorge, "When Namibia becomes independent and aggression from South Africa is finished, then we will say to the Cuban comrades ... you can go home now". This is a viewpoint long held and reconfirmed by most African leaders, as expressed by Pres Julius Nyerere of Tan-

zania in 1978, that if Namibia attains independence and if South Africa no longer poses a threat to Angolan security, Cuban forces will be withdrawn from Angola.

The problem of the relationship between the Cuban presence and the South West African Namibia issue has recently been raised to a higher level of saliency. It is linked to Phase 2 of the Western Contact Group proposals on free elections, as well as the *de jure* recognition of Angola by the United States of America. In the United States a number of schools of thought exist on these issues. The Carter Administration perceived the Angolan Civil War as an extension of the SWAPO/South African confrontation. Accordingly, it was believed that if South African raids into Angola could be stopped, and by reconciling the MPLA and UNITA, the Cubans would leave Angola. However, a more centrist and conservative view is held. This sees Angola as the focal point of conflict, with Namibia a separate and less important issue. In this respect UNITA is not regarded as a tool of South Africa. Accordingly, it is believed that if a genuine political reconciliation between the MPLA and UNITA can be negotiated, the MPLA would be prepared to expel communist forces from Angola. The present Reagan Administration is more committed to the recognition of the legitimacy of the UNITA struggle, and the desire to bring about a political compromise regarding Namibia, acceptable to all major political forces. "The ultimate goal should be to reduce or eliminate the communist combat presence in Southern Africa and bring about an (acceptable) compromise ...".

However, at present, conflicting reports on the United States stance on the issue of a Cuban withdrawal as a precondition for the settlement of the South West Africa/Namibia conflict, tend to confuse the issue. In June 1982 the US State Department declared that "To assure success on Namibia, we need a commitment from the Angolan government that Cuban combat forces will depart from Angola ...". This posture is also related to the accommodation of UNITA and the official recognition of Angola by the United States. In July 1982 reports emanated from Washington, according to which there can be no precondition about withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola in the present settlement negotiations. In reply to a statement by the South African Prime Minister, Mr PW Botha, to this effect, a US State Department spokesman has said that the United States "...continues to believe that the success of our effort to achieve internationally recognised independence for Namibia will depend in part on whether it is possible to achieve parallel progress on the issue of Cuban withdrawal from Angola". He concluded that "These two issues are related ... but they are being handled as separate matters in separate channels." What it actually means is that the United States does not see the Cuban withdrawal as a necessary prerequisite for settlement, but as a factor that can greatly contribute to a climate conducive to the implementation of Phase 2 of the Western plan, as well as reconciling UNITA and the MPLA.

The South African perspective has always been that the main aim of the Soviet-Cuban involvement in Angola, and their support of SWAPO, is to instate a Marxist-SWAPO regime in Namibia. Although no real contact with Cuban forces has been made during South African follow-up operations in Southern Angola, a stage has been reached, especially following the successes of South African forces in Angola during the last week of August 1981, where Cuban forces will have to become actively involved in order to help SWAPO maintain an image of success. This possibility, however, is projected by the South Africa military planners, as confirmed by Maj-Gen Charles Lloyd, Officer Commanding the SWA Territory

Force in a recent statement. This attitude was reiterated by the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr "Pik" Botha, who stated that although the presence of Cuban troops did not constitute a threat to the security of South Africa, it did constitute a serious threat to Namibia. In this respect, the South African viewpoint, as has been stated by a Defence Force spokesman, is that regarding "armed Angolan dissidents", the Angolan government was fighting a civil war against UNITA. As such, South Africa was not involved in the civil war situation, but was undertaking military operations in Southern Angola as preemptive and follow-up measures, in order to defend the people of Namibia against Soviet and Cuban backed SWAPO insurgents.

Although South African military and political spokesmen had initially denied any contact between South African forces and Cuban troops and/or Soviet military personnel, during the South African follow-up operations against SWAPO in Southern Angola in August 1981, events have since proved the opposite. It has become known that the South African forces killed two Soviet Lieutenant-Colonels during these operations, and captured a Soviet NCO with the senior rank of Sergeant-Major during a skirmish with SWAPO forces, 50 km from the Namibia/Angolan border. Although it had been accepted that military personnel do act as military advisers to SWAPO, the capture of the Soviet NCO is regarded as the first positive proof of Soviet involvement with SWAPO forces at a platoon level.

These events have strengthened the South African standpoint that the Soviet-Cuban involvement is related primarily to the active support of SWAPO, and secondly to anti-UNITA operations by the FAPLA forces of the MPLA regime. Therefore, the South African government maintains that the removal of the Soviet-Cuban presence in Angola is a necessary prerequisite for the termination of the Namibia issue in a peaceful manner and stabilizing the regional subsystem of Southern Africa. Without direct foreign aid and support, the South African government believes, SWAPO will cease to be a military and political factor in the settlement of the Namibia issue. This will create a favourable climate in which *de facto* as well as *de jure* authority can be transferred to the people of Namibia in a truly democratic fashion, and not through the use of military force.

Finally, the foreign presence in Angola must be seen in its global context. Although the regional focus tend to dominate, the possibility of a projection of coercive diplomacy and the rapid deployment of armed forces based in Angola throughout the whole of Africa, as well as the South Atlantic and Latin-America, cannot be ignored. The ideologically orientated aim of a worldwide Marxist regime underlies this supposition.

## Summary

From the foregoing, it is clear that firstly, the Cuban presence in Angola, as logistically supported by the Soviet Union, is believed to be a visible and tangible expression of Soviet ambitions in the true sense of imperialism. Although ideological roots still provide foreign policy incentives, the Soviet Union is a major power. It pursues national interests in the context of power politics, through the use of surrogates and conflict by proxy. This is seen as the direct result of the increasing Soviet capabilities, and the Soviet exploitation of changes in the international system, especially within the context of major power interaction. As such the Soviet Union has been

successful in projecting and applying force into Third World areas in the pursuance of foreign policy objectives.

Secondly, the Soviet-Cuban presence in Angola has become firmly entrenched and has taken on a permanent nature. Although it is often believed that the military presence need not be permanent, it can hardly be otherwise, present conditions prevailing. Inasmuch as the Soviet Union, Cuba and Angola believe the Soviet-Cuban presence to be a consequence of regional instability, it is also a definite cause of instability. Therefore, it is doubtful whether the settlement of the Namibia issue, and the possible reconciliation of the MPLA and UNITA, would prove otherwise. Because of Africa's incapacity to fight its own battles, the use of surrogates has become an acceptable mode of operation in conflict resolution. Unfortunately, though predictably, the net result has been rather the enhancement of conflict.

Thirdly, the Soviet backed initiatives in Angola, Southern Africa and Africa as a whole, must be seen as an attempt at the gradual development of a rapid deployment force. To further the evolution of the politico-military Brezhnev Doctrine, a rapid deployment capability is necessary in order to project influence anywhere in the world. In this respect, the development of the infrastructure necessary for rapid deployment, as well as the stockpiling of sophisticated conventional weapons and highly-trained combat troops in Angola, must be noted.

In the fourth place, the foreign presence in Angola must not only be seen from a local and regional perspective, but also in its global context. This means the projection of influence or coercion throughout the whole of Africa, but also westward into the South Atlantic Ocean and Latin-America.

In the fifth place, and most important, the Soviet Union as a major and Cuba as a small power, have demonstrated that they can operate successfully in the pursuance of revolutionary ambitions, without fear of interference. The present situation is pushed to a point where the cost-risk of intervention is minimal, compared with the maximum gain achieved. Although the West has been ill-prepared in dealing with this development, the Reagan Administration's acknowledgement of this fact, is indicative of the perceivment of true Soviet goals.

In the sixth place, although the Cuban involvement is incompatible with its non-aligned posture, this does not circumscribe Cuban activities at present. An increase in the criticism from other members of the non-aligned movement, in particular Yugoslavia, India and Indonesia, could represent a resistance to accepting future Cuban actions. However, it is improbable that such actions would constitute a significant constraint on future Cuban involvement.

In the seventh place, although Cuban foreign policy decision-makers have demonstrated a measure of freedom of choice and action, Cuba is absolutely dependent on Soviet support. Cuba's willingness and capability to initiate and undertake military operations in African states, could be undermined by applying greater pressure and demonstrating purposive resistance to the Soviet Union's projection of power by proxy. Where the African interests of the Soviet Union have become negotiable as a result of other commitments e.g. Poland and Afghanistan, this indirect approach to curbing Cuban involvement seems to be acceptable and feasible.

In the eighth place, the Cuban willingness to participate as a surrogate is to a greater extent the result of internal economic and social problems, than the result of "proletarian internationalism". Because of involvement in Angola, surplus manpower is employed, thereby lessening internal pressure on the Cuban government.

Finally, although it cannot merely be stated that Angola is fast becoming a Cuban and Soviet Vietnam, the material and psychological effects of a continued involvement are sure to elicit a negative internal and external counter-reaction in the long-term. Whether this is to be the result of public opinion in Cuba, or an increased resistance among the Angolan population to the permanent presence of Soviet and Cuban citizens, it could induce the Soviet Union and Cuba to reconsider the nature and scope of their involvement.

In conclusion it can be stated that regional instability in Southern Africa has been greatly enhanced since 1975 by the arrival in Angola of Cuban proxies of the Soviet Union. Irrespective of motivations and justifications of this presence, it has been instrumental in further destabilizing existing regional conflict. Rather than contributing to the peaceful settlement of disputes as has been purported, the Soviet-Cuban involvement in Angola has had exactly the opposite effect.

CSO: 3400/453



## BRIEFS

REDUCED HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITY--Several incidents in Huambo Province have forced humanitarian organizations to reduce activities in the province. The Bombe Alto Orthopedic Center (Huambo), which makes prostheses for the handicapped, was materially damaged in July and the Center's door destroyed by grenades. In addition, the Red Cross office in Catchungo, 10 kilometers from Huambo, was visited on 25 September following a night attack. Humanitarian organizations had to cut down on activities in Plan Alto (Huambo) and the Red Cross, forced to cancel distribution of seed before the rainy season, fears that the months of December, January and February will be difficult for the people. According to well-informed sources, the roads are unsafe south of Huambo and UNITA troops reportedly have invaded several villages. [Text] [Paris AFRIQUE DEFENSE in French No 56, No 82 p 20] 11,464

DEFENSE EFFORTS--The Angolan defense minister, Colonel Maria Tonha Pedale, has asked cadres to make the necessary efforts in order to guarantee the defense of our territorial integrity against the invading troops of the Pretoria regime. Colonel Maria Tonha Pedale was speaking at the closing ceremony of the first course of cadres in the air force which took place in the province of Uije. Maria Tonha Pedale said that it is necessary to defend our revolution in order to overcome the present situation in the country. He said that the imperialist countries are continuing their arms race and the policy of provocation. [Text] [AB201240 Luanda Domestic Service in English 1130 GMT 20 Dec 82]

CSO: 3400/473

INTERVIEW WITH UPC LEADER, EDOUARD MANGA

Paris LE MATIN in French 8 Nov 82 p 12

[Interview with Edouard Manga, leader of the UPC (Union of Cameroonian Peoples), by Elio Comarin, on 7 November; place not specified]

[Text] The new Cameroonian president, Paul Biya, announced Saturday evening [6 November] the formation of the new cabinet, which will be presided over by Maigari Bello Bouba. In reality the new cabinet involves only a partial reshuffle, illustrating President Biya's intention to decide nothing over the short run which might overturn the ethnic balance at the top level of government. The principal cabinet members remain in office (Dontsop in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Maikano in the Ministry of Defense, and Ayissi Mvodo in the Ministry of Interior). The "Northerners" (former President Ahidjo was from the North, contrary to President Biya) hold the Ministry of Defense, the important Secretariat of the Presidency (Sadou Daoudou), and the Civil Service (Daouda Youssoufa), in addition to the post of prime minister (Bello Bouba). In an exclusive interview a leader of the Union of Cameroonian Peoples (UPC), Edouard Manga, told us yesterday [7 November] that his party was ready to participate in a government of national union.

[Question] In your view why did President Ahidjo resign?

[Answer] We were surprised by this resignation, although not totally. Over the past 2 years we have been saying that the problem involved in the departure of Ahidjo was already before us, both by reason of his poor health and the contradictions within his own party, the UNC (Cameroonian National Union), which have been accentuated due to the slow deterioration in the economic situation. Two important leaders of the former regime, Paul Biya, now president, and Ayissi Mvodo, had been involved some years ago in political problems linked to the succession to Ahidjo. Furthermore, there was a dull resentment felt by the people of the country. Neither did all of the leaders, beginning with members of the Army, who went to speak to the president, appreciate the fact that a new presidential palace was being built. In our view the government preferred to settle this political crisis in a peaceful way, so that the crisis would not openly explode.

[Question] Do you expect that there will be a political change?

[Answer] From all appearances the resignation of Ahidjo is something positive for our people. However, in view of the new cabinet formed by Paul Biya, we don't see any change. There has been no freeing of political prisoners nor a union of all the political forces of the country.

[Question] Do you think that such a union of political forces is possible, particularly if the UPC considers itself a Marxist-Leninist party?

[Answer] We have never been supporters of sectarian politics. We are disposed to cooperate with all political forces, including, of course, certain well-known personalities, such as the writer, Mongo Beti. Such collaboration is possible, once the present government has freed all political prisoners, decided on an amnesty concerning everything that has happened since independence and committed itself to a minimum program stating that the wealth of our country should profit the Cameroonians first. And at the international level the government must decide Cameroonian, African, and international questions in a sovereign manner. Up to now it has not done this. We are ready to participate in a government of national union, and we wish to see such a government established.

5170

CSO: 3419/231

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

INFORMATION MINISTER LEAVES BAGHDAD--Baghdad, 11 Dec (INA)--Christophe Grelombe, information minister of the Central African Republic, and his delegation left Baghdad for their country at dawn today concluding a visit to Iraq. While in Baghdad, Grelombe held talks with the culture and information ministry officials on cooperation between the two friendly countries, especially in the exchange of movies, broadcasts, publications, printed matter and other information materials. [Text] [JN110808 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0725 GMT 11 Dec 82]

CSO: 3404/6

# CONDITIONS PROMOTING VICTORY OF HISSEIN HABRE NOTED

Dakar AFRICA in French No 144, Oct 82 pp 26-29

[Article by reporter Jean-Pierre Challard: "Chad: "Hissein Habré's Luck"]

[Excerpts] When the Libyan troops, with an impressive deployment of highly sophisticated equipment strengthened by technicians and combatants of various origins, invaded Chad in 1980, nobody thought much of Hissein Habré and his Northern Armed Forces (FAN).

Swamping the combat zones with a deluge of rockets, shells, and bombs, but avoiding hand-to-hand confrontation, the Libyan legion summoned by Goukouni Oueddei took control of the Chadian territory as a whole, establishing huge war arsenals in several places. Only the South, where Col Abdelkader Kamougué had made a tactical agreement by entering the GUNT [Transitional National Union Government], escaped the steam roller.

Less than 2 years later, that same Hissein Habré who came unharmed out of his retreat in Biltine, practically backed up against the Sudanese border, reconquered the main urban complexes deserted by Mu'ammarr Qadhdhafi's expeditionary corps as if he were playing a game of nine-pins, and surrounded Ndjamena on 7 June 1982, almost without a blow's being struck.

At Abêché, recalls one of the first combatants to be involved, the FAN men discovered an arsenal that was beyond imagining for them, which could have supplied their troops for a good year. To Oueddei's great prejudice, the 3,275 men of the InterAfrican Force did not cut off the FAN advance, and even evacuated certain strategic positions that the guerillas plucked like ripe fruit.

In a corner of the Abêché airport, in the Ouaddai administrative district, the prefect, Tougou Djimé, a former combatant himself, showed us an intact storage tank. "The Libyans left us a bit of diesel oil in their retreat!" he recalled. They also left behind a light armored car in flames, at the bend in the road, hit by a rocket fired by the guerillas during their attack, a vehicle since covered over by sand.

In reality, confided the officers who were present at this epic event, the CCFAN [Northern Armed Forces Command Council] had thought up its offensive without suspecting for one second that Colonel Qadhdhafi was going to withdraw his troops, under the joint command of GUNT and the OAU. A first stroke

of luck for Hissein Habré, for, faced with the prodigious fire power of the Libyan air force, the motivated but poorly supplied Chadian combatants would have suffered irremediable losses. Their strength at the time, varying between 6,000 and 8,000 men, could not have stood up to a Libyan counter-attack.

On the other hand, facing its Chadian opponents, the CCFAN was to underestimate their military possibilities while nibbling away at whole portions of territory. Throughout the fighting, Hissein Habré kept open the door to negotiation and reconciliation. The country's fate might have taken a different turn except for the fatal stubbornness of Goukouni Oueddei and his unshakeable hatred for Hissein Habré, that commoner who had attained glory through politics, whereas he, Goukouni, the son of a nobleman, should naturally take the future of Chad in hand. Sure of his "national destiny," he would not hear of compromise at any price, especially faced with this plebeian leader whom the tradition of the desert by no means destined for that role.

In analyzing more closely the political influence of Goukouni compared to the numerical weakness of his military forces, one notes a flagrant disproportion. It is true that at the head of GUNT he controlled Ndjamena, the symbol of power.

The fall of the capital, which the population had prudently left, moving toward the South, because the Cameroonian authorities had clearly made it understood that they did not want another indescribable exodus toward Kousséri, took place with the use of little military means. After 1½ hours of shelling the city -- more to test the degree of resistance by the enemy than for strategic reasons -- the first FAN patrols experienced a few skirmishes with Acheikh Ibn Omar's partisans and Goukouni's followers that left a few dozen dead in the suburbs.

It was an easy victory, explained by another element of luck. As a matter of fact, the Chadian Armed Forces (FAT) under Colonel Kamougué refused to fight for very prosaic reasons. These soldiers, unpaid and unfed, spent more time hunting elephant and game than in the training camps. Farther south, these none-too-daring warriors held travelers and shopkeepers to ransom at the "barriers," as will be seen later on.

Thus, at Bongor, a Spanish nun remembers, when the FAT received the order to march north and oppose the FAN, they flatly mutinied and left the way open to Hissein Habré, not caring to fight under deplorable morale and pay conditions. A fig for ideopolitical elucubrations!

#### Kamougué's Flight

It seems that Libya tried to stop the advance of the FAN by sending to the area a Libyan agent by the name of Suliman 'Umar 'Abdallah, captured at Sahr in possession of documents that were rather compromising for him. Under the orders of Colonel Massoud, who is the head of the Libyan intelligence services and married to Goukouni Oueddei's sister, the Libyan agent is thought to have had the mission of preparing for the delivery of military equipment to the advantage of the FAT and CDR [Revolutionary Democratic Council].

In any case the severity of the confrontations and the danger of a Libyan intervention so alarmed the CCFAN that it dispatched to Sahr itself even the commissioners (ministers) dressed in their fatigue clothes to perhaps resume firing against the enemy.

The disappearance from the Chadian political scene of Kamougué, that colorful personality, has reduced the embroilment to its simplest expression. The project of concertation among Zaire, Gabon, Togo, and Chad, is being diluted amid growing indifference. Certainly, the CDR combatants of Acheikh Ibn Oumar, the only adversary still militarily dangerous for Hissein Habré, have disbanded without being physically beaten. Will they end their adventure in rally, banditry, or continual revolution? It is still too soon to say, and this country has offered cases of resurrections unbelievable enough to prevent one's taking a chance on predicting the future. Hissein Habré will not contradict us on that point.

The situation within the country is moving toward domestic normalization. In the Mongo region, the prefect, Issa Nassour told us, 667 various rallies have been recorded since the beginning of September, including many CDR and elements of the First Army of Abba Seïd. Around Abéché, nearly 1,000 returnees have become supporters of the new regime, according to the prefect, Tougou Djimé. Overall, the policy of reconciliation and fraternization practised by the CCFAN is unquestionably making points.

Before the power take-over by the Armed Forces of the North, Colonel Kamougué played upon terror of a "blood-bath," successfully evoking the ethnic massacres of February 1982 by the FAN. This time, unfortunately for him, the fear of the wolf was not so strong as weariness with his own errors in the South.

In a sense, Kamougué was right: the FAN combatants are no choirboys. The president and general manager of the Chadian Cotton Company, Mr Kolingar, knows something about that, as does Commissioner Ndé at Moundou, who have both been through the Caudine Forks of repression. But they have both survived, one at Ndjamena and the second at Moundou.

Certainly, eye-witnesses have reported scenes of systematic pillaging at Moundou against the Chadian Cotton Company, which more than any other symbolized the military and financial might of Abdelkader Kamougué, whose personal fortune is estimated at 30 billion CFA francs. All the unoccupied houses of the European employees have been stripped of their contents and the brand-new trucks recently acquired in a 1.050 billion CFA franc deal, to bring in the 1982 cotton harvest, which promised to be excellent, have been "requisitioned" by the dissident FAN-FAT combatants. Who pushed whom?

"Hissein Habré will have all those trucks returned!" states a French businessman firmly, with confidence. In defense of the soldiers, it should not be forgotten that the collapse of Ndjamena had brought southward whole hordes of limousines, vans, and heavy trucks laden with furniture, refrigerators, television sets, belonging to private individuals as well as to the central administration. Since order has been reestablished, the pillagers have been returning often, contrite, to return the fruit of their forays with limping excuses so that they can get their jobs back.

The conquest of the South, the "useful South" -- the most tendentious kind of image possible, implying that the rest of the country lives at the expense of these five prefectures -- is explained more by the inextricable system of bribery and rackets that has brought the population to its knees rather than by Hissein Habré's martial or ideological halo. His good luck, in a word, derives from the intolerable attitude of the Kamougué family which domineered over this region as if it had been a private domain.

The colonel used to collect, in the form of taxes, fees, perfectly arbitrary revenues, some nice round sums that could amount to several tens of billions of CFA francs. He had exploited the whole economy of "his" zone, quite simply setting aside all form relating to national unity or collegial management; hence the gradual exasperation of his peers and the civilian racket victims.

At the same time, he refused to pay the wages of soldiers and civil servants, claiming that remuneration was Ndjamená's responsibility. A one-way fiscal system, in short, that could not last for ever. And so, to survive, the administrative agents, whether civilian or military, had to manage with their own devices: the most detested, the most spurned by the population, was the "barrier" system.

Originally, there existed on the main highways some rain barriers to protect the road surfaces, under the care of the Waterways and Forestry Commission agents. Then the Customs Service employees became involved with them, under the pretext of better control of the circulation of goods. Later, a third "security" body joined in, the soldiers, in case of an armed invasion by the people of the North. All these good folk exacted from passing vehicles a bakshish [gratuity] to season the skimpy daily fare, whether they were customs officers, gamekeepers, soldiers, or police militiamen.

The director of the cigarette and tobacco plant complained that between Ndjamená and Moundou, he had to give away no less than 1,000 packs of cigarettes as "toll." The convoys financed by Cameroonian shopkeepers had to "tip" at about 20, and sometimes 40, barriers to reach their destination; at every stop, four or five different services exacted their contribution, with no compunction in drawing their weapons in the event of mutual misunderstanding. Sick and tired of it, the shopkeepers reduced the flow of their goods in both directions, as the months passed.

#### End of the Civil War

One week after the fall of Moundou, all the barriers had miraculously vanished. A change which was greeted with relief by all the inhabitants of the South. Moreover, the FAN soldiers who had been wandering dangerously about the towns at the start, pillaging the houses, robbing the inhabitants, striking or mutilating the passers-by, were severely called to order. More than one resident of Ndjamená admits that their discipline is harsh, even pitiless.

A communique was issued by the authorities to put an end to abuses that were still possible, in the form of a "warning to malefactors and trouble-makers"; all the soldiers and private citizens in arms walking about Ndjamená late at



night and committing "extortion" (sic) are taking the risk of being shot on sight by the military squad, the military police establishment, or the soldiers on special duty. In the same notice, the authorities warned that bearing arms was strictly forbidden after 1830 hours. Instantly, the level of disturbances fell noticeably in the capital.

Some private voices were raised, amid the panic in the French community, to preach optimism and patience. Olivier Guerrini, an "old hand" in Chad, since he has been present for 30 years, interspersed with visits to Cameroon and France, who is the president and director general of SETUBA-Chad [expansion unknown], is resolutely confident.

For him, the undeniable fact that not a single French national has been brutalized or threatened is not a matter of chance. This friendly attitude is all the more remarkable in that poor procedures under French policy (the legion in the sixties comes to mind) were numerous and tactless....Before arriving in Ndjamena, one expects to see foreigners, especially the French, entrenching themselves in their private houses; but on the contrary, they move about by both day and night in complete freedom and without the slightest fear.

However, the unconfirmed news items by the French International Radio [RFI] about "control of the North by the First Army of Abba Seïd" spoiled this atmosphere, for a very short time, fortunately. The members of the embassy, with Claude Soubeste at their head, spent 2 very bad weeks; then everything became calm again, RFI deciding to reduce its news reports on Chad to a minimum.

We have carefully checked the possibility of an implantation of the other political trends, besides the FAN. All information agrees: fighting, except in the Doba and Moundou zone, ceased in August. In the Mongo-Ati zone, for example, where the highway is still mined, a French nurse stated she had taken care of only one patient with a gunshot wound lately: a young shepherd hit in the shoulder, and not seriously. Attack or accident? She inclined toward the second hypothesis, for the combatants are still firing in all directions at the slightest opportunity, to demonstrate their joy or their drunkenness.

As for those wounded by bullets or shrapnel now being treated by the doctors of the International Red Cross League and the Physicians Without Frontiers, theirs are old cases, as is demonstrated by horrible purulency and gangrene. The combatants wounded in earlier engagements remain for weeks at a time without treatment, away from the medical centers, in the hope that local traditional treatments will clear up their wounds, often in vain.

On the other hand, nobody talks about the fate of the Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti (BET) region, either out of embarrassment or lack of information. But it is obvious that this 114,000 square-kilometer strip has remained under Libyan control -- which is nothing new, since that invasion dates back to the seventies. And the FAN prefer to buckle down to the priority of national reconciliation before tackling the principle of territorial integrity.

ROLE OF CSC AS REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD DESCRIBED

Brazzaville MWETI in French No 681, 9 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by Kiala-Matouba: "Vigilance and Production"]

[Excerpts] The Congolese Trade Union Confederation (CSC) celebrated yesterday, 8 November, its 18th anniversary and now begins its 19th year with the implementation of the 5-Year Plan. If during the Three Glorious Days in August 1963 the workers constituted a united front, beside the other patriotic forces, in sweeping out the neocolonial regime, today they see their role as broadened to other responsibilities of national and international scope. For these workers of yesterday, who so courageously made great--and supreme--sacrifices in the struggle against colonialism, the battle today is being waged on other fronts, but with just as much enthusiasm, to make the Congo a strong nation immune to all blackmail or economic pressure.

Henceforth, therefore, and more than ever, the workers are assembled to order: vigilance and production. First, vigilance to protect the gains of the revolution. Qualitative and quantitative strengthening through mobilization, as well as organization of workers toward greater efficiency, will make it possible to take the reactionary bull by the horns. Also, in this titanic struggle there can be no room for doubt about the outcome. Then production, so that our country will no longer depend on a single resource--eventually exhaustible--but provide to national and international markets the largest possible range of consumer products, raw materials, etc... Precisely in this context, the CSC has strategic tasks. Error can not be permitted: The country's future cannot be in question because workers are guilty of laxity. It was to this end that important measures were taken this year, and more will be taken, in order to continuously improve the salary, professional and social conditions of the workers. For what they have received, the workers should respond by translating their duties into reality by an effort to be more productive.

Our country is in the midst of evolution. The changes that are taking place are too numerous to count or to all be put in context. The situation is therefore ripe for criticism, muttering and intrigues. However, the CSC is on the lookout for trouble. Each worker is one stone in this great wall raised against attempts to divert the Congolese revolution from its real objectives. Trade union action in our country is part of a many-sided struggle calling for ideological awareness and political training of the worker. Without the major trump card, the CSC could not be the avant-garde

force of the party and the revolution. The CSC must become the school of socialism without which nothing is possible and everything else is only verbiage.

Throughout the CSC, particularly in the basic-level process, the major issues to be discussed by the central committee are gone over thoroughly by the workers, then the suggestions are collected at the top. The workers' voice is heard, their aspirations are taken into account, and their desires are satisfied in the decisions taken or approved by the party. More and more the Congolese worker sees his responsibilities expanded within the framework of his country's overall development. While in the capitalist countries the ultimate loss is the fall of governments linked to the owners, in a socialist country the goal is to organize production so as to constantly increase the effectiveness of the policy.

9920

CSO: 3419/271

## BRIEFS

FAO DEVELOPMENT AGREEMENTS SIGNED--20 Nov--The FAO and the People's Republic of the Congo yesterday signed three documents concerning the development program and improvement of seed quality in the Congo. Under the first document, the FAO will provide to the Ministry of Culture and the Arts, which is responsible for scientific research, a treatment system worth U.S. \$50,000 to be installed at the Loudima Agronomic Research Center (CRAL). The FAO will also pay the costs of transport and insurance to Pointe-Noire. The Congo Government will take necessary measures to exempt the equipment from customs fees and taxes, and pay for the transport from Point-Noire to Loudima and for installment of the equipment under adequate shelter as well as meeting operation costs. The FAO will also provide to the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock technical equipment worth U.S. \$40,000 needed for a seed analysis laboratory. FAO will pay for transport and insurance to Brazzaville. The Congo Government will arrange to have the equipment enter tax-free, will handle transport to the national center for seed improvement, and will assume responsibility for proper operation of the laboratory. In the third document, the FAO agrees to provide to the Ministry of Culture and the Arts, in its role of responsibility for scientific research, additional equipment for seed analysis worth U.S. \$10,000 for the Loudima Agronomic Research Center. The FAO will cover insurance and transport costs to Brazzaville. The Congo Government will arrange to have the equipment enter tax-free, will handle transport to the Loudima research center, and will assure proper operation of the equipment. (ACI) [Text] [Brazzaville BULLETIN QUOTIDIEN DE L'ACI in French 20 Nov 82 pp 4A, 5A] 9920

CSO: 3419/271

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

BRIEFS

NIGERIAN DONATION--The ambassador of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to our country, Mr (Mutire), yesterday handed over to Secretary of State of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Apolinar [name indistinct] four landrovers donated by the Government of Nigeria to the Government of Equatorial Guinea.  
[Text] [AB180835 Malabo Domestic Service in Spanish 0600 GMT 17 Dec 82]

CSO: 3448/5

DEVELOPMENTAL ROLE, FINANCING OF TRANSGABONESE RAILROAD

Dakar AFRICA in French No 145, Nov 82 pp 70-71, 72

[Article by Jean-Pierre Challard: "The Transgabonese Railroad: Biggest Construction Project in Africa"]

[Text] A constellation of European and American banks, represented for the occasion by serious representatives and directors general, took part in an exceptional financial event, both in terms of the size of the credits provided and the complexity of the procedure involved. This took place on Wednesday, 13 October 1982, in Libreville.

In the presence of the first deputy prime minister and minister of transport, Georges Rawiri, the Gabonese minister of finance, Jean-Pierre Lemboumba, cosigned with the providers of the funds for the Transgabonese railroad the numerous agreements confirming the difficult negotiations which were effectively concluded that day.

Three months earlier, on 13 July 1982, the Gabonese government had signed the work contract entrusted to the Eurotrag consortium, while a preliminary agreement to this contract was signed by President Omar Bongo himself on the preceding 13 May. The civil engineering work was estimated at CFA F 168 billion (in constant August, 1981 francs). However, the whole of the second segment, which will be completed in 5 years, should cost at least CFA F 325.6 billion.

This considerable difference is explained by a clause in the contract concerning revision of the price, which provides for a margin of risks and unforeseen developments and which assumes an arbitrary inflation rate of 15 percent per year. It should be noted that the inflation rate in Gabon presently varies between 11 and 12 percent, which provides some security to the contractors.

The Eurotrag consortium, which initially included 17 European construction companies for the first segment, now includes two new British partners: George Wimpey International and Taylor Woodrow International, who, by themselves, have carried off 22 percent of the total amount. The financiers of the City of London, as we had reported in a previous study in AFRICA, have landed in force in Gabon, determined to destroy the tenacious myth of France's "private hunting ground."

The construction of the second segment of the Transgabonese railroad, which will connect Booue to Franceville after having gone through 357 km of thick and impenetrable forest, should begin early in 1983. Meanwhile, the inauguration of the Ndjole-Booue segment, now nearing completion, would have taken place with great ceremony around 30 December, the birthday of the Gabonese chief of state.

However, the official visit of President Francois Mitterrand to Gabon, which has already been announced, no doubt will result in the inauguration being put off to the beginning of January. This was indicated by Charles Tsibah, director general of the Transgabonese Railway Office (OCTRA). The participation of France, even if it has been reduced by the addition of the British, amounts to 39.5 percent for the second segment, or the largest portion for any country!

#### A Considerable Stake

Out of a phenomenal total cost of CFA F 325.6 billion the Gabonese budget will cover half the cost of the investment. In his speech the deputy director of the Banque Nationale de Paris, Jean-Laurent Micalleg, emphasized the fact that such an effort by a government rarely occurs.

However, the stakes involved in the Transgabonese railroad are so important for the development of the country that the government of Prime Minister Leon Mebiame has placed a second bet on this extraordinary line of communications. The double role of transporting forestry and mining products on the train through the forest will be expanded by the effects produced by the Gabonese economy.

A station every 40 kilometers have been provided to serve as a center of attraction and development. Already, on the Libreville-Ndjole segment (180 kilometers) you can see natural groups of villages collecting agricultural products on their way to market which, in the absence of transportation, would once have rotted on the trees. The areas through which the railroad passes wake up to the sound of clicking wheels, shaken out of their torpor by the new possibilities for transportation and for trade.

In these new population centers medical installations (dispensaries), cultural centers (schools) and trading facilities (markets) will be added. Even if the financial soundness of the Transgabonese railroad were illusory, its impact would be such through the areas which it passes that it would be worthwhile over the middle term.

This compensation mechanism, although imperfect, was worth more than a risk-sharing agreement, in the absence of well-known and reliable West German partners such as Phillip Holzmann and Bilfinger.

The KFW, a West German organization, will fully guarantee the rates for this kind of transaction, Emmanuel Nze Bekale, a counselor at the Ministry of Economy and Finance, told us. However, unfortunately, Gabon is a petroleum producing country which classifies it among the "rich." As such, everything is relative.

Concerning the Dutch banks, in this case the Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank, which finances the "Interbeton" company, a similar mechanism has been assembled: a floating rate for 1 year and then a fixed rate, since it was not possible to obtain an adequate subsidy on the rate of interest in effect (for example, 9.35 percent instead of the objective of 8.5 percent).

The British participants in the financing, with the Midland Bank of London leading the way, divided their share in the following way: 23.5 million Pounds Sterling for the Midland Bank, 23.5 million Pounds Sterling for the Paribas [Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas] subsidiary in London, 5 million for the Banque Nationale de Paris subsidiary in London, 5 million for Barclays Bank, and 5 million for Lloyds of London. In the words of Ronald Jordan, representing the Midland Bank, this financial arrangement was "unique," with the presence in the pool of these six different guarantee and credit organizations.

The French portion of the credit amounted to FF 1.205 billion for the civil engineering. However, this total did not include an additional amount of FF 61 million (CFA F 3.05 billion) for the expenses of the control mission.

However, the question does not even come up in financial terms. Six European countries have voted for the train through the forest by guaranteeing the equipment credits provided by about 15 banks. The credit guarantees are provided by COFACE (France), Hermes (Federal Republic of Germany), Ducroire (Belgium), Export Credit Guarantee Department (ECGD for the United Kingdom), SACE (Italy), and NCM (Netherlands).

Each country has provided its part of the financing, except for the Italian equipment credit, which required the participation of 11 different banks (Banque Nationale de Paris, Citibank, Banca Commerciale Italiana, Banque du Benelux, Banque Internationale pour l'Afrique de l'Ouest, Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, Credit Lyonnais, Europeenne de Banque, Midland, Lavoro Bank Overseas, and the Societe Generale). However, the total amount of more than \$61 million was nevertheless guaranteed by SACE, the Italian credit guarantee office.

The fixed rate of 8.5 percent interest obtained by the Gabonese authorities, according to the agreement of 13 July, is advantageous if you consider that in mid-October it was normally from 11.25 percent and more on the French market, up to 14 percent, for example. Certainly, the cost of money is declining, and this tendency should be accentuated, according to nearly unanimous predictions.

#### Compromise

This current tendency toward declining interest rates made it possible to reach a compromise with the West German and Dutch lenders, whose rate of interest is not subsidized. A satisfactory compromise was reached on both sides, practically on the eve of the signature of the final agreement, which was signed simultaneously with the Gabonese side. In the legal field the Banque Nationale de Paris harmonized the various financing agreements as much as they could, as the law in the various lending countries varies considerably.



The repayment of this collective loan will take place over a period of 7 years, dating from the completion of each segment of the work. The completion of the right of way should take place in 5 years, and the credits will be released as the work progresses. Thus, according to the present schedule, the first repayment for the first portion drawn under the loan will take place on 30 June 1985. The second repayment will be on 30 June 1988.

This vote of confidence in the political stability of Gabon and in the economic future of the country is the sweetest revenge which President Omar Bongo could take against the World Bank which, in 1970, refused to finance the Gabonese railroad. This is the second portion of revenge, in reality, following on the inauguration of the Libreville-Ndjole segment of the railroad, which in 1981 transported nearly 100,000 passengers and more than 320,000 tons of freight, including the precious okoume wood.

5170

CSO: 3419/272

RESULTS OF PRESIDENT'S TOUR OF INTERIOR NOTED

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 4-5 Dec 82 pp 1,4

[Article by Pape Saine: "President Jawara Decides to Cancel Farmers' Debts"]

[Text] President Jawara just completed a tour in the interior of the country. Like every year, Dr Dawda Jawara chose the time when people are preparing the agricultural campaign to go and listen to the farmers, livestock farmers and fishermen. On his tour--which took him successively to Bujam, Bondeli, Douboutou, Buring, Dankoukou, Sotokoi and Sapu--the Gambian chief of state received a warm, enthusiastic and militant welcome.

Concerning the complaints of the rural world, we should note that they revolve around the almost cyclical drought problem. The drought has brought about a drop in agricultural production, a decimation of the livestock and everywhere a decrease in the purchasing power of rural populations. Sir Dawda Jawara did not promise miracle solutions to all these problems. He tried to express to the populations affected the concern of his government for their welfare. He also emphasized that measures had been taken by his government to increase agricultural production. Among these measures, we should note the creation of the Agricultural Development Bank. This bank will enable farmers to receive credits to purchase seeds and equipment.

President Jawara also decided to cancel the debts of all farmers--which amount to 23 million dalasis, i.e. about 3 billion CFA francs--to provide them with an incentive to meet the challenge of food self-sufficiency. After declaring himself pleased with this year's good peanut crop (over 100,000 tons), Sir Dawda Jawara invited producers to contribute to the success of this agricultural campaign. He also attended the groundbreaking ceremony for the Jahali Pajar rice-growing project.

The implementation of the Jahali Pajar project, the most daring rural development project in the country, was made possible by loans from various international organizations such as the African Development Bank, the International Fund for Agricultural Development. The Federal Republic of Germany also provided financial assistance. Once completed, this project should provide a good irrigation of the land in times of drought. It should also make it possible to raise the standard of living of the 15,000 farmers or so who live on Jahali Pajar.

SEKOU TOURE ASKS 'LIQUIDATION' OF OAU PROBLEMS

AB201545 Paris AFP in French 1406 GMT 20 Dec 82

[Text] Dakar, 20 Dec (AFP)--President Ahmed Sekou Toure of the Republic of Guinea, has called on African leaders to "liquidate the current contradictions" within the OAU and to work towards the creation of a "United States of Africa," in a speech broadcast by Radio Conakry and monitored in Dakar.

According to Sekou Toure, the advent of the United States of Africa must be manifested by the immediate establishment of four federal departments (communications, banks, economy and cooperation, higher education and research), establishment of a pan-African institute for the training of trade union officials and the constitution of a pan-African parliament on which the government of the United States of Africa would depend.

The Department of Communications, the Guinean head of state stated, would be charged with maritime and air transport and telecommunications and would call for the establishment of a pan-African airlines company. The Federal Department of Banks would coordinate the African banking systems, and would create a Federal Central Bank and an African monetary zone with a common African currency.

The Federal Department of Economy, Sekou Toure further said, would be charged with, among other things, the execution of the Lagos plan of action (adopted in 1980) on transactions with foreign countries concerning principal African products.

Further, Sekou Toure indicated that each state "must be absolutely sovereign within its internal framework and must preserve its state machinery" within the United States of Africa, but must conform in all fields where common decisions are reached within the framework of the charter of the "continental organization."

Finally, President Sekou Toure deplored the current crisis shaking the OAU. He added that the OAU, under penalty of setting a dangerous precedence, can and must only recognize countries and governments that effectively and in reality exercise all the attributes of national and international sovereignty, in accordance with its charter."

CSO: 3419/320

GUINEA

MESSAGE TO TOURE FROM CITIZENS IN FREETOWN

AB141125 Conakry Domestic Service in French 2200 GMT 13 Dec 82

[Message from the Union of Guinean Nationals in Freetown to Guinean President Ahmed Sekou Toure following a meeting at the Guinean Embassy in Freetown on 12 December held under the chairmanship of Guinea Ambassador Sekou Konate]

[Text] From Freetown to the supreme leader of the revolution in Conakry.

The Union of Guinean Nationals in Freetown, meeting under the chairmanship of Ambassador Sekou Konate along with his associates at the Guinean Embassy on 12 December 1982 following the violent raids carried out by the Sierra Leonean authorities against Guinean nationals and, in particular the Foulahs; considering the position taken by the Guinean Government on the situation; considering the unity of action and solidarity which the Guinean nationals showed in Freetown showed in conformity with the ideologies of our great party state, the Democratic Party of Guinea; considering the role that the people of Guinea and their government play in the liberation of the African people; considering the fight being carried out by the Guinean people against any form of racial and tribal discrimination. Highly appreciates the message that the supreme leader of the revolution sent to the Sierra Leonean head of state for the release of some Guineans; expresses its sincere thanks and its gratitude to our party and in particular to the supreme leader of the revolution for his unconditional support and [word indistinct] which led to the release of our fellow countrymen.

We, Guinean nationals in Sierra Leone, reiterate our indeffectible attachment to the principles of our party state, the Democratic Party of Guinea, wish the father of the Guinean nation long life and good health [word indistinct] African revolution, President Ahmed Sekou Toure.

Ready for the revolution signed: Union of Guinean Nationals in Sierra Leone.

CSO: 3419/296

DISSATISFACTION OF SOME OF ELECTORATE NOTED

Paris LE MONDE in French 5, 6 Nov 82 p 5

[Article by Jean-Pierre Langellier: "Madagascar: The Election of Anger"]

[Text] I. "My country is falling apart ...."

The presidential election in Madagascar on Sunday, 7 November, will pit current President Didier Ratsiraka, in power since 1975, against Mr Monja Jaona, the leader of a populist movement. With the administration controlling the countryside, where 80 percent of the Malagasy reside, there is no doubt about the election's outcome. However, after 7 years of a disappointing "socialist" experiment, the political debate is focusing in particular on an assessment of its results, which our special correspondent, Jean-Pierre Langellier, provides in two articles.

Tananarive--"People of Madagascar, wake up. You must save your country. The decision is yours. Only fear makes slaves." With fiery eyes and a slight figure, Mr Monja Jaona likes to speak loudly and clearly. An eternal adversary, he is at ease, for a half-century now, among the opposition. Against President Didier Ratsiraka--30 years his junior--the old fighter will undoubtedly make his last great stand on 7 November. The crusader for nationalism, feudal lord, party leader and champion of the people coexist together in this charismatic, impulsive and forceful individual.\*

Today, before an audience of attentive peasants, the tireless enemy of colonialism and its heirs vilifies the "socialism of thieves." "My country is falling apart," he told us. "The administration is corrupt, the people are angry." And he presents the case against the Malagasy Revolution by listing its most glaring faults, one by one: insecurity ("The peasants live under the threat of violence."), shortages of all kinds, corruption ("It is not children who organize the black market."). He denounces the enrichment of the barons of socialism, who "live in grand villas," the failure of "bootlicking" politicians, growing dependence on external entities (the IMF and the Soviets). A stranger to subtleties, Mr Monja Jaona compares his country to "the Egypt of the pharaohs."

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\*Mr Monja Jaona says that he is 72 years old, but his fellow countrymen say that he is 5 years older than that.

During a long tour of the Great Island, he sensed the urgency of correcting the situation. That is why, he explains, MONIMA (National Movement for the Independence of Madagascar), which he founded in 1958, asked him in July to run as its candidate. With the passing weeks, he has gotten caught up in the process and today asserts that he would win if the election "weren't rigged."

His platform? To make a clean sweep: a new constitution, a provisional government and the holding of "truly free" general elections. A party of peasant solidarity and opposition to the central government, MONIMA manages to persuade more by the force of its rejection than by the severity of its plan. Mr Monja Jaona is not exactly the prototype of the modern statesman and the intellectuals surrounding him are far from being a credible alternative administration.

On Sunday, nearly 5 million voters will put an end to an unequal duel. Is it necessary to stress the striking disproportion of opposing financial and political resources? One example: In order not to cast too much doubt on the outcome of the election, the government has given the candidates the responsibility for distributing the ballots among the prefectures and the 11,000-odd polling places, an enormous job in this compartmentalized country with poor communications. Due to a lack of money and members, MONIMA "skipped" thousands of isolated hamlets. "We have given firm instructions so that the election will be legitimate," Interior Minister Ampy Portos assured. In response, Mr Monja Jaona held up telegrams from his friends, listing cases of fraud and intimidation: fouled ballots, reports written up in advance, orders to leading rural residents to "make up" the results.

#### Five Against Two

Another imbalance, within the National Front for the Defense of the Revolution (FNDR), the indispensable framework for any political action, the battle is five against two. On one hand, there is AREMA (Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution), of which Mr Ratsiraka is the general secretary; the pro-Soviet AKFM [Congress Party for Malagasy Independence], established mainly among the middle class of the high plateaus; the radical and disciplined MFM (Militants for the Establishment of a Proletarian Regime); the Vonjy, comprised of supporters of the former regime; and UDECMA [Malagasy Christian Democratic Union], a small christian-democrat group. All of them support the president. MONIMA and its dissident branch, the VS-MONIMA [MONIMA Socialist Group], are on the other side. They have received the support of "three candidates for the nomination," who have been disqualified from the race by the High Constitutional Court.\*

By discreetly announcing in January 1982 that he would seek a second term of office without being officially endorsed by the Front, Mr Ratsiraka laid the field open to possible rivals. Only Mr Monja Jaona took up the gauntlet. The president then pursued several goals: domestically, to consolidate his position and strengthen its legitimacy at a time when the Great Island was beginning

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\*They are Gen Brechard Rajaonarison, Mr Zafy Albert and Mr Koto Robert. Their candidacies were rejected because they were not submitted by any party, which is contrary to the requirements of the constitution.

a long economic austerity program; abroad, to maintain, in accordance with the wishes of Madagascar's financial backers in particular, the public image--which is important to him--of a chief of state respectful of the workings of institutions. Did he suspect that the "old man" would launch into the fray? He could not have dreamed of a better foil.

The two men know each other well and respect each other. They are two "mpiziva" ("rivals but friends," in Malagasy), to use Mr Ratsiraka's own expression, who adds: "I think of Monja as a father." Their sparring seems to conform to a gentleman's agreement, which precludes low blows. During the campaign, however, the tone of both sides has hardened. The president's allies have personalized their attacks on an opponent whom they consider protected by his advanced age, a major asset in Madagascar.

#### Disillusionment of Urban Residents

They denounce his incompetence and his lack of education. Even political parables, highly appreciated by the Malagasy, have become more cutting. The chief of state readily compares the revolution to a bush taxi that must be entrusted to a driver who is familiar with the highway code and who knows how to read and write. To which Mr Monja Jaona retorts: "The driver's knowledge matters little if the passengers vomit, if the baggage, poorly secured, is blown away by the wind while the taxi continues its mad race ...."

If Mr Ratsiraka's victory is not uncertain, his score in Tananarive and in the major cities--where the election's legitimacy seems assured--will constitute the real test of the government's popularity. A number of urban residents are tempted to cast a vote-sanction expressing their weariness and disillusionment. Will Tananarive's middle class--lower or middle--avail itself of the great thrill of a reprimand without risk? In the secrecy of the voting booth, will the voter follow his heart or his reason?

The election will also make it possible to measure the real following of Pastor Andriamanjato's AKFM, a resolutely legalistic party that is said to be clearly losing ground in its domain of Tananarive because of its blind support of the government. Its leaders, fearing confirmation of such a decline, wanted to turn the presidential election over to a college of major electors whose power is secure. Among the AKFM's rank and file, as in other groups, the support given Mr Ratsiraka has led to unrest or bitterness. Some militants have expressed their disagreement, while others have defected to the other side.

To prevent such unrest, several parties had vainly tried to negotiate their support. The Vonjy added eight conditions to its approval, but without requiring their prior implementation. The MFM, which engages in critical support, dragged its feet before expressing its endorsement. By deliberately staying above the parties, as presidential logic dictates, Mr Ratsiraka refused in advance to be subject to the pressures of his allies.

The election of 7 November will kick off a frantic political year. Elections will be held in 1983 at all levels of the socialist pyramid, from villages (fokontany) to the National Popular Assembly [ANP]. These elections, which

should have been held in 1982, were postponed for a year because the president preferred to strengthen his position before letting ARIMA run this perilous obstacle course.

Eighty-eight percent of local elected officials and 112 of the ANP's 137 members belong to ARIMA, which has become the primary target of popular discontent. It was the forced reinstatement of an ARIMA provincial governor, contrary to an avid grass-roots wish to have the constitutional principle of dismissal of elected officials applied, which led to bloody incidents in March in Antsiranana (formerly Diego-Suarez). Long torn between a "left" fond of verbalizing and a more pragmatic "right," the general consensus is that ARIMA will bite the dust with the upcoming elections, which will give rise to open confrontations between Front factions, most of which want to see their real weight in the country confirmed before asking the president for a more equitable share of power.

#### The Mosaic of the Front

Seven years after the Malagasy Revolution, its inability to produce an original force capable of mobilizing the country's energies remains one of the government's major weaknesses. The Front is only a mosaic in which regional rivalries mix with ideological disagreements. Its local branches, stipulated by legal texts, have yet to be created. It is rarely consulted before important decisions are made. The exercise of presidential power has prevailed, at the Front's expense, over the art of working together, which is nevertheless dear to the Malagasy. The Supreme Revolutionary Council resembles an empty shell more and more.

We could even be gradually witnessing a regrouping of Malagasy political families. Like Mr Lucien Xavier Andranarahinjaka, chairman of the National Assembly, many people want a "concentration" of forces which have thus far been too scattered. Mr Manandafy Rakotonirina, leader of the MFMM [expansion unknown], adds: "The rules of the game must be redefined." Monja Jaona, who considers himself a maverick, does not want to reinstate the "front of schemes." But in order to develop, his party needs to remain a part of it.

The "old man," who approved the adoption of the "Red Book" in 1975, the "charter of the Malagasy Revolution," does not challenge the system's foundations.

The Monja Jaona-Ratsiraka duel is a contest between two "socialists." A change of power is not on the agenda. The election campaign has made it possible to revive political debate and to bring problems to light. The election will set off a domestic protest. The Malagasy are glad about all of these things. But the stakes would have nevertheless been better clarified if individuals outside the Front would have launched into the fray. Mr Monja Jaona, who considers himself a "candidate of change," is cleverly taking advantage of this confusion to assemble opponents of every shade and hue under his banner. Government leaders, having sensed the danger, are denouncing this "club of malcontents," which obviously includes enemies of socialism.

Will Mr Monja Jaona's performance influence the behavior of the chief of state? Those who are familiar with his pride and stubbornness doubt that he will change



his course. "The president rarely makes decisions under pressure," one of his associates noted. "He prefers to sidestep issues, like many Malagasy. Moreover, he is a lone wolf who trusts no one." Is that why he is one of the best protected chiefs of state in the world (a soldier posted every 50 meters along his route between the airport and the capital)?

#### Opposition of Churches

He responds to Mr Monja Jaona's grievances by largely pleading not guilty. Using supporting figures and percentages, he has compiled a statistical report of his 7-year term, listing the achievements of the "revolutionary government." If he sometimes engages in self-criticism, humility is not one of his outstanding virtues. He calls himself the "father of the nation," readily quotes himself and talks about himself in the third person. The outline of the "bunker," which he had built at Iavo Loham, not far from the capital, recalls the architectural contours of the "Palace of the Queen," which proudly dominates the capital. Should that be considered symbolic? And has he had no part in the decay of the government, the disorder of political and administrative responsibilities, a source of paralysis, the demobilization of the people? Only one regret: "I have come to power either 10 years too early or too late."

The revolutionary word has not forfeited its rights, however. The Malagasy press talks about "ideological motivation," of the "work of building socialism" and "generally positive" results. "I didn't promise you a socialist paradise in 7 years," Mr Ratsiraka said in early October. "But when socialist countries have achieved their goal, their peoples know happiness." Customs of speaking die hard.

In these uncertain times, Malagasy churches appear to be the only force for thought and protest. They have spoken out several times in the past year. In November 1981, the Episcopal Conference expressed "the discouragement and despair" of the country and "regretted the absence of real communication between the government and the people." At the close of their Antsirabe congress in August, the hierarchies of the four christian churches\* issued an assessment of the Malagasy crisis. "Poverty is rapidly increasing," the resolutions of the congress affirmed. "There is a threat of famine, corruption has spread everywhere and national unity has been shaken. Antichristian ideologies are the subject of quasi-official apologies. What some people call the class struggle has caused a general confusion of minds. In the face of these misfortunes, the church is ready to assume its responsibilities." This latent opposition of the churches, in a country in which one out of every two inhabitants is christian, only reflects the feelings of a population that has hardly received any of the dividends of socialism.

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\*Catholic, Episcopal, Lutheran and Church of Jesus Christ.

[Text] II. Westerners to the Rescue.

Leaving hardly any doubt about Mr Ratsiraka's reelection, the presidential campaign in Madagascar has been characterized by the violent criticism which, after 7 years of "socialism," the president's opponent, Mr Monja Jaona, has directed at a government whose ideological choices he nevertheless shares. The population's bitter discontent over the deterioration of the situation has been expressed, in particular, by the harsh assessment made by the churches (LE MONDE of 5 November).

Tananarive--A woman, still young, waves her precious green banknote and exclaims indignantly: "There, that's what I have to live on every day, 500 francs. Enough to buy 3 kilograms of rice."\* She has eight children. "Politics," someone nearby adds, "is for the intellectuals. For us, it is a matter of survival." Farther away, two MONIMA militants go to get the tapioca that they will use to paste up the purple pictures of candidate Monja Jaona. Here in Ankazomanga, on the outskirts of "Tana," the "old man's" election harangues are having an effect. This is still the city and yet already the beginning of the ricefields, a landscape of small dikes and huts made of dried mud. The proud Palace of the Queen is only 3 km away as the crow flies.

The slaves of the monarchs used to live in this district, which today houses "seasonal" farmworkers. At the time of the terrible hurricane in January, they were among the capital's 60,000 homeless. Nearby in Ambohimanimirina, the AKFM party, which controls the municipality of Tananarive, applies the old precept: "Rice and toys." The toys? Old wooden horses. As for the rice, the long lines in front of the government stores suggest that it is not the best distributed commodity. We always return to the commonplace. When rice is doing poorly, nothing is going well in Madagascar.

The Great Island harvests more than 2 million tons of paddy rice, only one-tenth of which is marketed, to feed the cities. Each year, the gap widens between production--which has been rising steadily, however, for 10 years--and needs. It is becoming more and more expensive to bridge the gap. In 1982, the country will have imported 280,000 tons of rice. At this rate, according to President Ratsiraka, it will have to purchase 500,000 tons of rice in 5 years. Breaking this vicious cycle is a national emergency. At the risk of disturbing the social peace, the government reduced consumer subsidies in May. The price of rice doubled overnight. But it is often necessary to "hunt for rice" and buy it at the full price on the parallel market.

There is nothing unique about the often described multiple causes of the Malagasy agricultural disaster. They are the result, as is often the case in the Third World, of governments' profound ignorance of the workings, reactions and expectations of rural society. The prices paid to the producer,

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\*One Malagasy franc (FMG) is worth 0.02 French francs.

which are not much of an incentive, have discouraged the peasant. Physical insecurity has accentuated this lack of interest. The dahalo, cattle thieves, have assembled, in certain regions, veritable small armies that are in league with local residents. Irrigation canals are neglected, seed stocks have diminished, already mediocre yields--less than 1.5 tons per hectare--have declined even more. The cooperatives, imposed from on high, have failed. The peasant has rejected the rural credit system, which implied a collective liability of the local community in the event of failure to repay loans.

State control of distribution has disrupted traditional trade. The establishment of huge government corporations has broken the fundamental link between supply and demand. What is the point of obtaining a surplus when the stalls are empty? The agricultural bureaucrats, taking the place of the Chinese or the Indian, have become the new usurers. All cash crops are stagnating or declining. The Ministry of Agriculture is looking for a legal way to permit French cotton companies in the northern part of the island to expand their plantations, since they alone are obtaining satisfactory yields.

### The Industrial Failure

Any agricultural renewal can only be total and affect prices and yields, the improvement of techniques and the development of research all at the same time. Production and distribution must be restored on an equal footing. But the transportation system is crippled and the fleet of vehicles in operation is in a wretched state. Several dozen Romanian buses are slowly rusting in a suburb of Tananarive for the simple reason that spare parts for them are no longer made in the country of origin. The economic machine--three-fourths of which is controlled by the government--has run out of steam.

During his election campaign, Mr Ratsiraka stepped up openings of industrial plants, but the industrial sector is operating at one-third of its capacity. Companies are closing their doors for lack of raw materials. What good is a naphtha plant that satisfies the country's annual needs in a few weeks? A pharmaceutical company without basic products? A textile factory--at Tulear--in a region without cotton? A flour mill--at Antsirabe--which processes imported, and thus very expensive, wheat? Malagasy industry, long extroverted, has seriously suffered from the lack of foreign exchange. Since the beginning of the year, the Treasury has granted practically no advances to government corporations. While awaiting the promised "socialist paradise," the Great Island is experiencing shortages. There is a lack of sugar, oil, soap and electric lightbulbs. "Batteries have arrived," MADAGASCAR-MATIN proudly announced. Just in time to run transistor radios, without which--it is true--any election campaign is only a sterile gesture.

Corruption is rampant. It is everyone for himself, the triumph of the nouveaux riches of socialism, who are not very numerous but prosperous. Bills are padded and contracts are accompanied by tidy commissions. There is trafficking in emeralds and cloves. Vanilla has spread an odor of scandal: 50 tons sold as contraband. Everyone in Tananarive knows the names of the guilty parties, but only scapegoats have problems with the law. As for the common people, they are living from hand to mouth. Wages are stagnating and prices are soaring.

Tananarive has become an expensive capital. Crime, the child of poverty, is rising by the minute. The Malagasization of education, according to officials, is a fiasco. It will take long years to correct the mistakes of the educational policy. Already an old phenomenon, the flight of intellectuals is accelerating.

The increase in energy prices and the crash of world exchange rates have combined for Madagascar's misfortune. Before 1975, the sale of coffee alone was enough to pay the oil bill. Today, it covers only one-fifth of it. Mr Ratsiraka cannot be blamed for launching a policy of "excessive investment" in 1978, which was good in principle. It was necessary to make up for the cumulative backwardness of decades of unsteady management and underinvestment.

But this economic choice has been poorly implemented. Projects were poorly selected. Most of them had no immediate impact. Some thresholds of profitability would not be reached until the year 2000. French banks, eager to finance anything, offered bad advice to Malagasy officials. The result: The static financial balance, which had prevailed until then, was seriously upset. The Treasury crisis became alarming. "If I had 1 billion dollars ...," Mr Ratsiraka mused one day. But in recent years, money has not been enough for success.

Madagascar, which opened negotiations in March 1980 with the International Monetary Fund, was forced to compromise. It had no other alternative. Rejecting agreement meant breaking with Western bankers, suppliers and creditors--often one and the same. No hope from the Soviets either: Moscow is not accustomed to keeping afloat the economies of its Third World friends. The USSR made it known that there would be no new Cuba in the Indian Ocean. The agreement with the IMF therefore had, in this regard, a diplomatic impact. Madagascar agreed in June 1982 to the IMF's conditions: limitation of public spending and Treasury advances, reduction of food subsidies, increase in producer prices, devaluation (the Malagasy franc lost 13.5 percent of its value). In return, the IMF hailed Mr Ratsiraka's "political courage," granted compensatory financing of \$20 million and promised \$51 million in the form of a standby credit staggered over 12 months.

#### The Decisive Role of Paris

But it was first necessary to reestablish the balance of payments. At this stage, France had a decisive role to play. During a meeting of financial backers in June, Paris granted Madagascar 230 million francs, or one-half of the total package. Whereas most of the donors (the United States, Japan, Italy) provided food assistance, not directly productive, the French money will finance the purchase of spare parts, machinery and small equipment to be used for agriculture. The island's public debt also had to be rescheduled. This was done within the "Club of Paris." Despite these measures, debt servicing, more than one-half of export revenues, represents an oppressive burden. At mid-maturity, these recovery measures will open the way to a structural adjustment loan from the World Bank.

Such aid will be used for the most urgent needs first. The goal is to regain in 1985 the production levels reached in 1978. It is not a matter of increasing

the nation's capital but, more modestly, of repairing infrastructures and restoring the productive apparatus, in other words, of repairing the machinery of the state in order to regain the confidence of the peasants. The great energy projects have been shelved. The exploitation of bituminous sandstone would require an investment of \$600 million. Accurate estimates of reserves of heavy oil still need to be made. Oil is the surest hope: Research permits have been granted to four companies (three U.S. firms and AGIP [National Italian Oil Company]).

This policy of restoration is very much in the background of the plan's goals. Similarly, the IMF's deflationary rationale--reduction of subsidies, freezing of social expenditures--is hurting the most impoverished and is cruelly contradicting the government's socialist orientation. Overcoming this contradiction will probably require some ideological acrobatics. Mr Ratsiraka is satisfied with proclaiming that "it is not shameful to borrow" and calls on the people to make "new sacrifices ...."

In his eyes, neither the principles nor the methods of the Malagasy Revolution are responsible for the failure. In short, socialism is innocent. "Those who say that our current problems are due to socialism are liars," he observes, "for the good reason that we have not yet achieved it."

The argument derives somewhat from intellectual evasion. With the Red Book, Mr Ratsiraka believed he had found the way to carry out the revolution: a realistic, consistent guide to action, supported by an overall vision of Malagasy society. If the socialist seed did not take root, it is, he maintains, because his fellow countrymen are changing their ways of thinking too slowly. But is he prepared to learn the lessons of its failure?

The current development hardly delights the Soviets. Their military presence remains their best asset. About 150 instructors maintain about a dozen MIG-21's and control the radar installations at Ivato, the capital's airport. Many Malagasy officials tolerate this intervention reluctantly. And two Iraqi trawlers carrying electronic equipment and anchored off the coast of Antsiranana (formerly Diego-Suarez) probably have on board Soviet military officers assigned to watch the Mozambique Channel. Otherwise, Mr Ratsiraka has said "no" to Moscow's requests: port and airport facilities, opening of consulates, etc.

U.S.-Malagasy relations have clearly warmed up. President Reagan received Mr Ratsiraka during a visit. The visit of the White House's emissary, Gen Vernon Walters, to Tananarive early this year was a success. Malagasy officials are supposed to soon make a working visit to the United States. The tirades against Washington in the press have disappeared. In one year, the United States, the Great Island's second trade partner, has supplied it with 55,000 tons of rice. Washington seems ready to increase its aid, although without abandoning a certain amount of caution. The Americans--and this is the important thing--are optimistically gambling on Malagasy nationalism, which they are striving to handle carefully. They know that Madagascar's Western partners are in the best position to help the island overcome its present trials.

But in order to start off again on the right foot, it will not be enough for Mr Ratsiraka, on the eve of a new 7-year term, to be able to rely on friends who are sensitive to his problems. Above all, he will have to think about the weaknesses and mistakes of the experiment which he has personified since 1975. Without this detailed examination, the revolution runs the risk of never really benefiting a disillusioned population who still expects to receive the first "dividends" of Malagasy socialism.

11915

CSO: 3419/211

## MADAGASCAR

### BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH VIETNAM--To mark the 10th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, several agreements in the cultural, technical and economic fields have been signed. Cooperation between the two countries has increased since diplomatic relations were established: The post and telecommunications school was founded in 1978, and 15 Vietnamese lecturers are currently teaching at the University of Madagascar. Madagascar has signed a protocol under which Vietnam is to provide technicians for livestock breeding, soya production, and to establish cooperatives and health services. Foreign Minister Christian Remi Richard has sent a telegram to his Vietnamese counterpart to mark the 10th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Madagascar and Vietnam. [Antananarivo Domestic Service in French 1030 GMT 20 Dec 82 MB]

CSO: 3419/338

RS972 MILLION IN LOANS NEGOTIATED

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 11 Nov 82 p 4

[Text] Loans totaling approximately 972 million rupees have currently been negotiated by the government with international financial institutions and friendly nations. These loans will be used to finance development projects and to import food staples. Furthermore, loans of close to 437 million rupees have been finalized or negotiated since 15 June 1982.

In addition to the 450 million rupees (\$45 million) that the government has requested from the World Bank in the form of a Second Structural Adjustment Loan, two loans of 150 and 100 million rupees respectively have been negotiated with this same organization to finance the second phase of the Plaines du Nord irrigation project and road maintenance work, respectively.

Discussions have been held with the Indian Government with the objective of getting it to release a credit line of 100 million Indian rupees (around 117 million rupees) for imports of durable goods. An agreement to this effect had been signed during the visit of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to Mauritius. The details of this loan will be examined during the meeting of the joint Indian-Mauritian commission to be held in Port Louis at the beginning of next year.

In regard to imports of food staples, the Mauritian Government has approached the French (through the National Bank of Paris) and American (US AID) governments to obtain loans of 30 million francs (48 million rupees) and \$3.5 million (35 million rupees) respectively. Furthermore, negotiations are in progress with the CCCE [Central Fund for Economic Cooperation] for three loans:

- (a) 25 million francs (40 million rupees) for the bagasse pelletization project;
- (b) 15 million francs (24 million rupees) for a stock breeding project;
- (c) 5 million francs (8 million rupees) in credit lines to the Development Bank.

In a statement to the Legislative Assembly on Tuesday, Minister of Finance Paul Berenger commented that several proposals for the new loan of 1 billion rupees or more have been received and that they are being studied. "It is premature to indicate the names of the parties concerned and the terms of such loans," he said, while stating that no expenditure has been made and no commission paid in this regard. "Parliament and the public will be kept informed of developments," added Mr Berenger.



The following loans have been finalized or already negotiated:

- (a) Central Fund for Economic Cooperation: 25 million French francs (40 million rupees) for development of the telephone network. This loan is repayable in 10 years, with payment delayed for 5 years. The interest rate is 5 percent per year.
- (b) Central Fund for Economic Cooperation: 53 million French francs (86 million rupees) for improvements to the Plaisance Airport. The loan is to be repaid in 15 years, including a 5-year grace period. The interest rate is 5 percent per year.
- (c) World Bank: \$12.2 million (122 million rupees) intended for improvement of the water supply system. The interest rate is 11.43 percent per year and repayment is staggered over a period of 17 years, including a grace period of 4 years. The government will also have to pay a commitment charge of 0.75 percent each year.
- (d) European Investment Bank: Four million ECU's (41 million rupees) in a credit line to the Development Bank. It will be repaid in 15 semiannual installments at an interest rate of 8 percent per year. Payment is delayed for 5 years. A commitment fee of 1 percent per year is also charged.
- (e) African Development Bank: Three million units of account (35.5 million rupees) in the form of a credit line to the Mauritian Development Bank. An interest rate of 7.5 percent per year, a statutory commission (1 percent per year) and a commitment charge of 0.75 percent per year are charged on this loan. The repayment period is 9 years after a 3-year delay.
- (f) African Development Bank: 3.3 million units of account (39 million rupees) to repair the Grande Riviere Nord-Ouest bridge. Loan conditions: interest rate of 4 percent per year, commitment fee of 0.75 percent per year, repayment in 18 years including a 3-year delay.
- (g) IFAD: 5.25 million in special drawing rights (63 million rupees) for agricultural development projects. The interest rate is 4 percent per year. The loan is to be repaid in 15 years after a 5-year delay.
- (h) Kreditanstalt Fur Weideraufbau: 4.5 m marks (12.2 million rupees) for the electrification of Rodrigues. A commitment charge of 0.25 percent per year and an interest rate of 2 percent per year are charged. Repayment is staggered over a period of 20 years after a 10-year delay.

9693

CSO: 3419/239

C OF C MISSION DISCUSSED

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 4 Nov 82 pp 1, 8

[Text] "We are proceeding boldly, without preconceptions and without illusions." These were the remarks that Mr Benoit Arouff, president of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry [CCI], made during a press conference yesterday about the mission to the Gulf countries (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Abu Dhabi, Dubai and Bahrain) that a 13-member delegation from the private sector will undertake. The mission, which will leave Mauritius on 21 November, will have official status, as the government has decided that our ambassador to Egypt will accompany it.

Speaking of the mission's objective, which is to identify markets for Mauritian products in the countries to be visited, Mr Arouff feels that there is hope of establishing beneficial contacts with Arab businessmen. The Chambers of Commerce in the countries involved have been informed of the mission's arrival in order to prepare the way for the discussions to take place on location with potential customers. Sponsored by the United Nations through the ECA, the mission will benefit from the support of an Arabic translator whose services have been donated by the United Nations. However, the mission had already made its own preparations by including in the delegation a member who speaks Arabic fluently.

Mr Arouff stated that the CCI has taken steps to establish a communications network between Mauritius and the Gulf countries. Airlines and shipping companies have been approached about operating new service. One of these companies said that it was prepared to do so as soon as orders were received. As for air transportation, let us point out that Air France provides two flights between Reunion and Jidda every week, while British Airways already serves Bahrain.

According to the president of the CCI, there are good possibilities of finding markets for a wide range of Mauritian products, including furniture, textiles, watches, flowers, fruit, gloves and sugar among others. Unfortunately, the mission does not cover all sectors of production, but as head of the delegation, Mr Arouff has asked interested companies to send samples with the required specifications. However, he deplored the fact that the tea and poultry companies did not feel it worthwhile to be represented among the delegation, as the Gulf countries represent a potential market for these products.

Through the composition of the mission we find that the emphasis will be placed on marketing products such as furniture and textiles (trousers, shirts, pullovers, napkins, blankets, etc.). Indeed, six furniture manufacturers will be represented: Art Decor Ltd, the Espitalier-Noel Group (Boboulo and Panache), Laval Furniture, International Furniture Ltd, Marbella and Mauricarvers Ltd. Representatives from the textile sector are: the Currimjee Gropu (Bonair Knitwear and Raymond), Oceana Textile, Floreal Knitwear and Floreal Textile. The delegation will also include officials from General Construction and from a consortium of engineering firms (Ireland Blyth Limited/System Building and Dynamotors) and a representative from Mauritius Commercial Bank.

Mr Arouff announced that the mission will also seek the cooperation of the Arab countries in technical, financial, tourist and industrial affairs. "We want to interest them in coming to invest in the important sectors of production, especially at a time when appeals to accelerate investment are being made," he said. He also mentioned the possibility of a permanent exhibit of Mauritian products in the Gulf countries. Next year another mission will visit these countries, a mission to be sponsored by the Secretariat of the Commonwealth.

9693

CSO: 3419/239

## BRIEFS

NATIONALIZATIONS ISSUE--The constitutional amendments that the government intends to make before the end of the year to facilitate the nationalization of certain sectors of the Mauritian economy were the subject of discussion among the ministers of finance and planning, Messrs Paul Berenger and Kailash Ruhee respectively, and a delegation from the private sector yesterday. The government "reassured" the private sector that the nationalizations will be "limited" and that they will begin with the establishment of a Cargo Handling Corporation [CHC] at the port. The minister of finance made an appeal to the private sector to cooperate in the establishment of a CHC and the nationalization of public transportation through the extension of the National Transportation Corporation's activities to other lines. In return, the private sector called for public assurances to the effect that the free trade zone, the tourism sector and other industries will not be "affected" by nationalization. In answer to this, Mr Berenger replied that the government will do what is necessary in this area. [Excerpt] [Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 6 Nov 82 p 4] 9693

SUGAR EMPLOYEES--Sugar industry cash flow problems were the subject of lengthy discussions between the government, the Chamber of Agriculture and the Mauritius Sugar Producers Association yesterday. During this meeting, which was presided over by Prime Minister Aneerod Jugnauth, the sugar sector revealed that it will need 300 million rupees between now and the end of the year in order to meet its obligations. Consequently, it requested certain financial accommodations from the government for the purpose of honoring its commitments, especially to its employees. [Excerpt] [Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 13 Nov 82 p 1] 9693

AIRPORT CLOSURE--The Plaisance Airport will be closed to air traffic from 4:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. every day for 5 months beginning in January of next year due to the commencement of work on improvements to the airport infrastructure. This work, which will continue through May 1983, will be financed by means of a loan obtained from the Central Fund for Economic Cooperation [CCCE]. In fact, the CCCE has agreed to grant approximately 83 million rupees to the government for the overall development of Plaisance. [Excerpt] [Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 16 Nov 82 p 1] 9693

POLICE BRUTALITY--The leaders of the Mauritius Graduates Union [MGU] yesterday strongly condemned the attitude the police and the government took toward them last Saturday. Certain MGU members were treated roughly by the Riot Unit. Three of them were hospitalized, two in rather serious condition. Messrs R. Nokhadee,

president; D. Jagarsingh, secretary and A. Lowtun, spokesman of the MGU, in turn denounced the "repressive attitude" adopted by the authorities, demanding the repeal of the Public Order Act, a law which they term "a reactionary gag order." [Excerpt] [Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 10 Nov 82 p 6] 9693

BAGASSE PELLETS--The bagasse pelletization plant will be located in Deep River/Beau Champ, the Council of Ministers decided yesterday. As is known, this project, which falls within the context of the government's stated policy of making the best use of local energy sources, will be financed by the CCCE [Central Fund for Economic Cooperation]. [Excerpt] [Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 12 Nov 82 p 4] 9693

FRENCH VISIT--Two French missions, one to study the possibility of making better use of local materials in construction and the other to define measures intended to protect our environment, will visit Mauritius shortly. This is due to the request of the minister of housing, lands, town planning and the environment, Mr K. Balagadoo, to French authorities that the French experts make this visit. Mr Balagadoo, who went to France on a private visit, subsequently turned his visit into an "official visit," and in this capacity he was able to meet with his French counterpart, Mr Quillot, as well as with high level French officials. [Excerpt] [Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 8 Nov 82 p 6] 9693

PRIVATE SCHOOLS--It seems that the government has decided to go ahead with the idea of closing certain private secondary schools as suggested by the World Bank and the IMF. At least this is what Dr Swaley Kasenally, who is substituting as minister of education during the absence of Mr Ramduth Jaddoo on a trip abroad, admitted yesterday. The minister, who was responding to a question from Mr Armoogum Parsuramen of the PSM [Mauritian Socialist Party], stated that the matter is currently under study and that the government is examining all its implications, financial or otherwise. As soon as a political decision has been made on this matter, it will be communicated to all parties involved. Mr Parsuramen wanted to know the number of students who would be affected by such a measure and the solution the government proposes for finding alternative employment for the teachers who will be laid off. [Text] [Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 17 Nov 82 p 1] 9693

POLITICAL RENEGADES--Prime Minister Aneerood Jugnauth yesterday reconfirmed the government's intention to prepare legislation to prevent any form of treason. Mr Jugnauth, who was responding to a question from PSN [Mauritian Socialist Party] Deputy V. Goodoory, recalled that the government has already made a commitment in this area. This legislation, stated the prime minister, will be presented together with other amendments to the Constitution. Responding to another question from Mr Goodoory, the prime minister again confirmed that members of Parliament will be asked to declare their assets at regular intervals once they are elected. "I have already informed the Chamber of the government's intention to proceed with this matter and appropriate measures have already been initiated to this effect," stated Mr Jugnauth. [Text] [Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 17 Nov 82 p 1] 9693

CSO: 3419/239

RNM RADIO CITES MACHEL'S OPPOSITION TO RELIGION

MB171448 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Africa in Portuguese to Mozambique  
1700 GMT 15 Dec 82

[Station commentary]

[Text] The so-called secretariat of the People's Assembly recently issued a communique entitled "Day of the Family" in reference to 25 December, which is regarded worldwide as Christmas.

The FRELIMO government is nothing but a bunch of liars, and it is not by chance that they are liars. We all remember Machel's speech at the time of the country's first Christmas after independence when he shouted loud and clear that 25 December was an ordinary working day for the Mozambican people. He also said that 25 December was the day when the colonialists used to enjoy themselves at the expense of the Mozambican people. Machel said then that on 25 December Christians would be given half of day of grace and that non-Christians would work as normal.

Machel is now trying to go back on his word, but it is too late. He issued the communique through the People's Assembly to give the impression that it was not being issued by the party, so the rulers would not have to face an embarrassing situation before the international community and our people, who are always watching for FRELIMO's tricks. FRELIMO cannot deceive the people for 25 December is and always will be Christmas Day, a day of happiness for all of mankind. We, the people of Mozambique, will not pay attention to the FRELIMO clique. For us and the world at large, 25 December is Christmas Day, and even if the government had not declared a public holiday on this occasion we would have stayed at home.

With or without a holiday, 25 December is a day of peace, love and fraternity. Whether they like it or not, FRELIMO is the enemy of the people. We, the people of Mozambique, do not fear oppression imposed upon us by the FRELIMO government. We want to be free in our country where the future can look bright for us. We want to give our children an adequate education. We have our own personality, but FRELIMO is trying to destroy it for the benefit of Moscow's communism. Our happiness and tenderness, and our children's innocence, have been destroyed. FRELIMO send our children abroad to get a terrorist education in which only Marxist doctrine is learned. It is this doctrine which is causing disgrace among mankind.

Machel's policy is radically opposed to religion, and in order to disguise it they have given a different meaning to 25 December. It is logical to think that Christmas is the day when family members gather to celebrate the birth of Jesus Christ. FRELIMO, however, thinks that it has invented a new date by stating that 25 December is the day of the family. December 25 is Christmas Day, and it will always be so despite the names that FRELIMO wishes to give it.

It is only now that FRELIMO has noticed that the family is society's foundation. In 7 years of dictatorship the Mozambican people have been deprived of entertainment and have lived in darkness. It has been 7 years during which the people have not been able to celebrate a happy Christmas with their tables full of bread. Children do not know that at Christmas parents usually give toys. They are not even entitled to special treats because there is nothing available in the shops. Parents no longer relish the euphoric sound of champagne bottles being opened.

One still remembers Machel's speech against religious organizations in which he condemned the church and demanded that the people turn their backs on religion. Today he is trying to go back on his word. The Mozambican people will never forget the massacre of Jehovah's Witnesses by FRELIMO in 1977. Entire families were killed because they refused to praise FRELIMO. They were locked up in concentration camps in Niassa where there was no food, water, clothing or housing. Dozens of children died every day and were then buried in common graves. This massacre is part of the open record of Machel's oppressive regime, and today he does not know what to tell the people.

Religion is part of family culture. FRELIMO disregards human rights, and it dares to call 25 December family day in an attempt not to debase itself. They forget that millions oppose their policies and that millions regard 25 December as Christmas Day. It is sad, but we know that it will end soon. Desperation is not the best alternative. A war does not bring about change at the drop of a hat; it must go in accordance with its own laws. On behalf of the Mozambique National Resistance, we wish a Happy Christmas to all Mozambicans.

CSO: 3442/82

## MOZAMBIQUE

### BRIEFS

VIGILANCE AGAINST BANDITS--FRELIMO party ideological secretary Jorge Rebelo has called on local political structures in Maputo to step up their vigilance to ensure that peace is maintained over the holiday period. Mr Rebelo urged all Mozambicans to keep on their guard against possible sabotage attacks by South African-controlled bandits. This meant strengthening security measures [words indistinct] hand in hand. Mr Rebelo, who was addressing a meeting of neighborhood political groups at the weekend, also called for increased vigilance against burglaries and road accidents. At the same meeting, internal trade minister Aranda da Silva announced [words indistinct] careful control over the distribution of goods and to combat black-marketeering. Full-time brigades are to be established in all neighborhoods of the capital to check that all the goods dispatched from factories and warehouses are [words indistinct]. This policy was already producing results, Mr Da Silva said, with products appearing on the shelves of shops that had been empty for some time. Large quantities of goods have been siphoned off from the distribution (?sector) and from the warehouses and from the shops. [Text] [MB210618 Maputo Radio in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 20 Dec 82]

ITALIAN DROUGHT AID--MAPUTO--Italy has earmarked R2,8-million to be used to help victims of drought in Mozambique. Under the terms of an agreement signed in Maputo, the money will be used to buy frozen meat soup. The agreement was signed by the Mozambican Internal Trade Minister, Mr Aranda Da Silva, and the Italian Ambassador to Mozambique, Mr Patrizio Schmidlin. Seven thousand tonnes of rice from Italy destined for drought victims is also expected to arrive in Maputo this month. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 6 Dec 82 p 13]

CSO: 3400/453



CHAD FOREIGN MINISTER SEES KOUNTCHE, COMMENTS

AB101713 Niamey Domestic Service in French 1200 GMT 10 Dec 82

[Text] Col Seyni Kountche, chairman of the Supreme Military Council and head of state, this morning received Idriss Miskine, Chadian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Jules Martal, Belgian Ambassador to our country. Mr Miskine, who delivered a message from Chadian President Hissein Habre to President Kountche, spoke to the press after the meeting.

[Begin recording] [Miskine] I have just been received by His Excellency, Col Seyni Kountche, President of the Republic of Niger, to whom I conveyed a message from his brother and friend, Col Hissein Habre, President of the Republic of Chad. Certainly although we have fewer problems, the continent and the world in general is going through a rather unsettled period so the message I delivered is certainly on the overall economic situation in the whole world.

[Question] How do you judge relations between our two countries?

[Answer] Chad and Niger are two brotherly and neighboring countries united historically and geographically. Both belong to subregional organizations such as the Lake Chad Basin Commission and the Niger River Basin Authority. We both belong to a well-known zone called the Sahel area. We are therefore here to hold meetings and make contacts in order to revive all these organizations within the economic and sociocultural interest of our two peoples.

[Question] Mr Minister, you are no doubt aware that the long civil war which took place in your country maintained a zone of instability at the doorstep of Niger. What do you intend doing to reestablish total security in this area?

[Answer] In actual fact, as you say, Chad has gone through a long period of war. Eighteen years of war in the life of a nation is a lot. This war has neither spared Chad nor Niger. I can assure you that the government and the president of the republic are busily trying to guarantee security for the people and their property. Certainly we have small problems with our northern neighbor but we hope that wisdom will prevail in this matter so that Chad can exist as a united, totally independent nation enjoying territorial integrity. [End recording]

PROTOCOL CONCERNING CANADIAN COOPERATION PROJECT SIGNED

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 22 Nov 82 p 3

[Text] His Excellency Ernest Herbert, the Canadian ambassador, and al-Housseini Moulou, secretary of state for planning and acting planning minister, on Saturday signed a memorandum of understanding regarding a Canadian-Nigerien agreement on protection of vegetation.

The general aim of the project is to help achieve food self-sufficiency for Niger through assistance to the Nigerien Vegetation Protection Service (SPVN). This project, which started in 1970 with the establishment of organizations to combat crop enemies in the six agricultural departments, is part of the new agreement, which is in the fourth stage of execution.

During the next 5 years the project will concentrate on popular education in techniques for protecting vegetation and dissemination of knowledge gained from entomological and agricultural research in the course of on-the-job training of departmental officers in charge of protecting vegetation, training personnel, and farmer families in the centers for rural advancement and technical training.

On-the-job training in management will contribute to establishing an organized system for purchases, supply management, storage, and distribution of pesticides and treatment equipment.

In regard to maintenance, a centralized service will be set up for repair and maintenance of treatment equipment used on the land, and operational vehicles.

The project will also include construction at Niamey airport of a maintenance and repair hangar for spray planes. Nigeriens will be given special training in flying spray planes and air mechanics. Nigeriens will also be trained at university level in Canada in the field of entomology and phytopathology. Finally, the project will include purchase of spray equipment, protective clothing, small towed graders, vehicles and other needs. Five Canadian advisers will assist the SPVN in carrying out the program.

Canada will contribute U.S. \$10,742,000 for the project, or about 3,165,000,000 CFA francs, and Niger's contribution will be 353,080,000 CFA francs.

The Canadian diplomat and al-Housseini exchanged congratulations on this new agreement, which reflects the traditional very close ties of friendship and cooperation between the Canadian and Nigerien peoples.

Niamey, 20 November 1982.

## BRIEFS

FRENCH COOPERATION AGREEMENTS SIGNED--Yesterday, the minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, Mr Daouda Diallo, and the French ambassador to Niger, His Excellency Maurice Courage, signed two agreements amounting to 7 million French francs, i.e. 350 million CFA francs. Under the first agreement, France will make 5 million French francs (250 million CFA francs) available to Niger to finance high-level technical assistance to the National Office for Agricultural Water Supply. This technical assistance will include advisers to the general director, the administrative and financial director, and the study and works division director. The agreement also includes a provision concerning specialized missions to be executed according to the Office's specifications. Logistic support credits providing for the acquisition of three vehicles and covering travelling expenses will enable the Nigerien administration to carry out technical verifications and to supervise the operations. The second agreement, involving 2 million French francs (i.e. 100 million CFA francs), will provide financing for a study concerning the water resources development plan. [Text] [Niamey LE SAHEL in French 7 Dec 82 pp 1, 4] 9294

CSO: 3419/311

TIN PRODUCTION TO BE INCREASED

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 3 Dec 82 p 40

[Article by Nwachukwu Ezem]

[Text]

**T**HE Federal Government is determined to pursue increased production of tin, and a sum of N5 million has been voted for its production in the current development plan.

The Vice-President, Dr. Alex Ekwueme made this fact known in Lagos on Wednesday when he addressed participants at the fourth ministerial meeting of tin producing countries.

The Vice-President added that N5 million had been voted for the development of the Ririwari underground mine in Kano State.

According to him, the development would include plans for mine preparation, milling facilities and provision of other essential service facilities in the mines.

Dr. Ekwueme stressed that the world market price of tin must not only be remunerative, but must also take care of non-renewable national asset.

He expressed delight at the united effort of all producing countries in the International Tin Council to fight for reasonable price range in the world market and urged them not to relent in their efforts.

On the other hand, the

Vice-President condemned the non co-operative attitude of major tin consumers (especially the United States) in matters affecting determination of price range and release of stockpile.

In his own address, the Minister of Mines and Power, Alhaji Mohammed Hassan stressed the need to re-examine the export control mechanism.

He urged the ministers to deliberate on the continued disposal of tin from the United States stockpile which was adversely affecting the world market price of tin.

CSO: 3400/442

## BRIEFS

AGREEMENT WITH VENEZUELA--NIGERIA and Venezuela have initialled an agreement for the exchange of crude oil, an official of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) confirmed in Lagos yesterday. Ogbuefi Alex Nwokedi, NNPC public affairs manager, told the News Agency of Nigeria that the agreement which was initialled last week involves the exchange of 20,000 barrels of crude oil. Nigeria will exchange 20,000 barrels of her light crude for 20,000 barrels of Venezuela's medium grade. The NNPC official further stated that an agreement to finalise the oil swop will be signed soon. Nigeria is expected to use her share in the deal in the Kaduna oil refinery. [Text] [Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 26 Nov 82 p 1]

GREEK SHIP DETAINED--A GREEK ship "Hellenic Navigator"--is being detained at the Tin Can Island Port in Lagos. The ship, allegedly carrying a consignment of ammunition, is being watched by the Nigeria Ports Authority (NPA). It was supposed to carry animal feed and soya beans and had sailed to Nigeria from the United States of America. An NPA source disclosed that the ammunition consignment was hidden in a container labelled "electronic Hand-tool". The source revealed that the secret blew open when some robbers pounced on workers removing the containers to a shed. A container was jagged open and some arms fell out. The robbers allegedly stole some and vanished into the lagoon. Confirming the story, the Customs public relations at the Tin Can Island, Mr. Stephen Ajiduah, said the police has been informed. [Text] [Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 3 Dec 82 p 40]

COAL INDUSTRY REVAMPING--PLANS are underway to revamp the Nigerian Coal Industry by the Federal Government. To this end, contracts have been awarded by the Board of the Nigerian Coal Corporation to carry out feasibility studies to prove coal reserves in various parts of the country. The General Manager of the corporation, Mr F N Ugwu announced this recently at Kaltungo, Bauchi State when he paid a courtesy call on the traditional ruler of the area, Chief Alhaji Ibrahim Omar who is also a director of the corporation. Mr Ugwu who was on a three-day tour of Coal locations in Bauchi State with a team of senior officials of the corporation said that the Federal Government has decided to revamp the coal mining industry in the country with plans to establish coal-fired power stations so taht the energy requirement of the nation would cope with hte present growth of the national economy. [Excerpt] [Enugu DAILY STAR in English 29 Nov 82 p 13]

STEEL MILL IN EAST--The Vice-Chairman of the Manufacturing Association of Nigeria, Eastern Zone, Chief Onwuka Kalu, has appealed to the Federal Government to site one of the steel rolling mills in the Eastern part of the country. This, he said, would help to reduce the cost of transporting steel from the various steel mills in the country to the east. Chief Onwuka who is the chairman of the Made-In-Nigeria trade Fair directorate, made this suggestion, while briefing newsmen on the trade fair which will take place from December 2 to 11 in Aba. The Trade Fair, he explained, is aimed at enhancing the acceptability of Made-In-Nigeria goods by the public. Also the sum of 3 million naira has been budgeted by the association for the trade fair. As part of his contribution to the success of the fair, Chief Onwuka said he had donated ₦2,000 to organise a symposium titled, "Acceptability of Nigerian made goods." Chief Onwuka further told newsmen that the President, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, is expected to declare the fair open. Meanwhile, about 400 firms have been registered for the Trade Fair. [Austine Njoagwuani (Jnr)] [Text] [Enugu DAILY STAR in English 29 Nov 82 p 16]

CRITICISM OF LIBYA--The [DAILY] TIMES, writing under a caption "wrong move, Libya," the paper invites Colonel al-Qadhafi to realize that it is an unnecessary waste of funds and an exercise in futility for Libya to be recruiting people to fight against the new government in Chad. The paper also appeals to Mr Oueddei to recognize that endless wars would not solve the people's problems and that it is not in his interest to be used as a tool for fomenting further unrest in Chad. The TIMES calls on some African countries as well as the OAU to confer with the Libyan leader and Mr Oueddei. [Excerpt] [AB091019 Lagos International Service in English 0830 GMT 9 Dec 82]

IRAN DENIES AIDING RIOTERS--The Iranian Embassy in Nigeria has denied a statement made in a Kano Magistrate Court that Iran gave financial and military support to the followers of Maitatsine during the recent religious riots in some parts of the country. In a statement issued in Lagos, the embassy said that there was no truth in the testimony of one of the accused persons, Haruna Hassan, which led to the statement. It said that the policy of Iran had always been based on noninterference in the internal affairs of other nations. It said that the accused had been encouraged by the imperialist forces of the West and the East to defame the Republic of Iran. [Text] [AB131710 Lagos International Service in English 1600 GMT 13 Dec 82]

POLISH SHIP DETAINED--A Polish electrical engineer, (Monikov T. Jessis), has appeared before the federal revenue court in Port Harcourt, Rivers State, charged with illegal importation of three automatic pistols and 30 rounds of ammunition. He was also charged with illegal selling of two automatic pistols and 20 rounds of ammunition to one Stephan Aping. (Jessis) was arrested by the police on board a Polish ship in Port Harcourt following a tip-off. The presiding judge, Mr Justice G. U. Osakwe, ordered (Jessis) to be remanded in police custody until today when his plea would be taken. Meanwhile, the captain of the ship has been ordered by the police not to move his ship from the Port Harcourt wharf until further notice. [Text] [AB101300 Lagos Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 10 Dec 82]

RIVER PROBLEMS WITH NIGER--THE NATIONAL CONCORD focuses on disputes Nigeria has had with her neighbors over waterways in recent times. Citing many of such disputes, the paper observes the damming of River Niger by Niger Republic to be the latest. According to THE CONCORD, this development will adversely affect the water level of the Niger River in its course through Nigeria. It also notes that Kwara and Sokoto states are now being affected by the damming of the river. Although THE CONCORD believes that Niger Republic's unilateral decision is against the conduct of international relations, it appeals to President Shehu Shagari and Niger's leader to solve the water problem amicably. [Excerpt] [AB150928 Lagos International Service in English 0830 GMT 15 Dec 82]

CURRENCY CIRCULATION INCREASE--The currency in circulation throughout the country at the end of July stood at 4,228.4 million naira. This is an increase of 50 percent, 58.4 million naira, compared with the level in circulation in preceding months. This was contained in the latest Central Bank report. According to it, the increase was a result of rise of 53.9 million naira or 1.4 percent in currency outside the banks. Loans and advances by commercial banks totaled over 9,800 million naira at the end of July this year compared with the level as at the end of the preceding month and the corresponding month a year before. Loans and advances increased by 1.1 percent and 28 percent. The shares of general commerce, export services and others, amounted to 40 percent. The report also shows that total deposits with the Central Bank at over 2,900 million naira declined by 1.2 percent as compared with a decline of 7.7 in the preceding month. [Text] [AB150848 Lagos Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 15 Dec 82]

JOS APARTHEID SEMINAR--The NIGERIAN STANDARD says the holding of the international seminar on sanctions against apartheid South Africa in Jos was an honor to Nigeria which is committed to the fight for the annihilation of the obnoxious policy of apartheid in all its ramifications. It adds that the presence of liberation movement leaders--SWAPO, fighting for Namibia's independence, the ANC and the Pan-African Congress--underscores the appreciation of this by this movement of Nigeria's efforts. That apartheid has survived till today, the paper feels, is to be blamed on Western nations, particularly the United States and Britain, which have consistently balked at the United Nations' resolution to apply mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime. It is of the opinion that the liberation movements should join forces against the white settlers as a major step in the fight to break the Pretoria regime, to ease and procure independence for Namibia and Azania. [sentence as heard] [Excerpt] [AB131805 Kaduna Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 13 Dec 82]

CSO: 3400/479

## BRIEFS

REFUGEES REPORTED COMMITTING SUICIDE--Thirty-five persons committed suicide at the Ugandan-Rwandan border, as the Rwandan authorities had prohibited entry into the country of refugees coming from southern Uganda, a representative of the UNHCR (U.N. High Commission for Refugees) stated on Tuesday, 9 November, in Geneva. According to this representative, who indicated that he obtained this information from refugees coming into Rwanda, about 45,000 refugees have been recorded over the past month at the frontier post of Tagitumba. The refugees who committed suicide, he indicated, were aged or sick persons who, having despaired at not being able to enter Rwanda, chose death rather than remain in Uganda, where they were victims of exactions by local people. These refugees, it may be recalled, are for the most part of Rwandan origin and are trying to return to their country which they left in 1959 or in 1963. During these 2 years a population estimated at the time at about 100,000 people left of Uganda, from which the indigenous people are driving them today, burning their homes and plundering their property, according to the UNHCR. The UNHCR has organized an emergency program for assistance to the refugees, who are living in temporary camps in Rwanda or on the frontier, on the Ugandan side. [Text] [Paris LE MONDE in French 11 Nov 82 p 6] 5170

CSO: 3419/229



PAI HOLDS THIRD CONGRESS, PRESIDENT HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE

Diop's Comments During Congress

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 6 Dec 82 p 6

[Article by Momar Seyni Ndiaye: "Third PAI Congress. Presidential Election: Majhmout Diop As Candidate"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday, at the Guediawaye community center, the African Independence Party (PAI) held the third congress of its 25-year history. Actually, this meeting sanctioned a week of festivities marking the 25th anniversary of the creation of that Marxist-Leninist party.

Following those of 1962 and 1977, that congress "had become mandatory in view of the situation prevailing now, on the eve of the February 1983 elections." But, Mr Majhemout Diop [PAI chairman] hastened to add, "of course, this does not mean that it will be a nominating congress that will merely prepare lists of candidates or even define a strategy and tactics for election-campaign alliances." According to him, "it is a partial technical assessment" centering on three points. First, the results of the party's efforts to achieve united election efforts with opposition formations; then, the state of the party organization; and finally, its financial situation.

Although these are acute problems, the PAI must take a stand in view of the present international situation. After drawing the world's attention to the threat of a nuclear war, Mr Majhemout Diop indicated that "it is the heavy responsibility of the forces of peace and progress to decrease tension, promote cooperation, detente and peace among the people and the nations." In this world-crisis context, Mr Diop noted that "since the great socialist October Revolution, the struggles to bring about the triumph of the new socialist society, the anticapitalistic struggles of the working classes, the national liberation struggles have kept expanding."

Assessing the country's situation, the PAI chairman pointed out that "agriculture, industry and trade are experiencing increasing difficulties and our foreign debt and the deficit of our balance of trade are worsening. Workers, farmers, livestock farmers, fishermen find themselves in an alarming situation." Therefore, it is time to "get rid of chaos and the crisis, domination

and dependence," Mr Diop also said, estimating that "the Socialist Party is becoming an integral part of the mechanism of exploitation and poverty. It is time to put a stop to it; our people has suffered 3 centuries of colonialization and over 20 years of neocolonialism."

On the question of elections, the PAI chairman indicated that his party had always asked the opposition "not to go to the polls in a dispersed order." This, he said, is what he meant in sending letters to 11 opposition formations, advocating the creation of a "consultation and working commission." Ten parties have already united along this line, it was disclosed by Mr Diop who also felt that, in addition to its "sadly antidemocratic" election code, the ruling party is making three mistakes: it wants to assimilate a movement for unity to a global coalition; it is trying to disqualify the opposition while disqualifying itself; and it is trying to base the electoral system on money by requiring guarantees. But, he also said, "the opposition is making mistakes in not perceiving the dividing lines between formations and letting itself be led by an unsteady and changing election code." He also said in substance that "his party is not about to plunge into an absurd electioneering."

After recalling that "since its 29th plenary session, the party had decided to take part in the election," Mr Majhemout Diop stated that, "the PAI's only problems are the Senegalese people's problems." As a result, it must "approach the 1983 elections with serenity. If an organization should agree with us on a common platform, if, in addition to a single patriotic, independent and democratic leader, it should accept to draw up a single list of deputies with us, we would be ready to walk to an eventual victory with that formation." This is why, he also disclosed, "our candidacy to the presidential election cannot be final. Should it turn out that an opposition candidate is in a better position, we would withdraw our candidacy." Mr Majhemout Diop also announced that the fourth party orientation congress would take place in the near future.

The congress was scheduled to close yesterday evening, without publishing a final statement. The party chairman is holding a press conference this afternoon at the community center.

#### Diop's Press Conference

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 7 Dec 82 p 3

[Article by Hamadoun Toure: "The PAI Will Make a Decision After Its Consultations With the Opposition"]

[Excerpt] A single candidate for the presidential election and a single list for the legislative elections, based on a common program. This is what the African Independence Party (PAI) wishes the opposition for the forthcoming February elections. The chairman of that party, which just celebrated its 25th anniversary, said so yesterday at a press conference closing a week of celebration of that anniversary.

In his introductory statement, the PAI leader, Mr Majhemout Diop, stated that his party intends to participate fully in the forthcoming elections. However, he said, the opposition must not go to the polls in dispersed order. This is why the above offers were made. "The PAI," the PAI chairman said, "has not said and, considering the present situation, cannot say whom it is going to nominate or support. It does not have to be a PAI leader and, if it is one, it does not have to be the party chairman." This statement gives to understand that the party is waiting for the outcome of the meeting initiated with other opposition parties before making a final decision. Already, a joint appeal along this line has been made by the Communist Workers League (LCT), the Workers Socialist Organization (OST), and the African Independence Party (PAI). According to Mr Diop, the conditions for a united participation to the elections can be defined only through a broad consultation.

What are the chances of the PAI according to its leader? He mentioned two possible cases. In the first case, the elections would be fair and there would be no "cheating." In this case, he feels sure that his party would be represented in Parliament. Even in 1978, he stressed, we received 10 percent of the vote in Thies as in the rest of Senegal. Globally, he expects that, in this first case, the opposition will be strongly represented in the National Assembly. "That will be a good thing for the Socialist Party, for the opposition and for Senegal. A serious government is better off with a serious and representative opposition working as a safeguard." As for the presidential election: "I would not say that the Socialist Party is not going to win," is all Mr Majhemout Diop answered, and he went on attacking the election code "which, by excluding coalitions between parties, does not allow the people to express itself."

In the second case, according to the PAI leader, we would have what he calls "elections as usual." "The cards are marked in advance," he charged and he maintained that his party had won the Saint-Louis election "less because of what we were worth than for historical reasons" (transfer of the capital to Dakar, candidacy of a list of young cadres coming from Europe; the town, which had been a stronghold of the SFIO [French Section of the Workers International (French Socialist Party)] was opposed to a merger with the BDS [expansion unknown], according to the PAI chairman).

Mr Majhemout Diop had to answer questions concerning the reference made to Sheik Ahmadou Bamba when he opened a party [as published] that claims to be Marxist-Leninist, a doctrine that is atheistic in some respects. For him, the essential is that religion not be "opium for the people." He went so far as to say that all antifeudal struggles had taken place under the banner of religion "which can be a haven for the people." In Mr Diop's opinion, Bambism is a rich doctrine where everyone can find what he is looking for, whether in morals, religion or politics. The latter facet is the one which inspired the "political liberation doctrine of the PAI." This is why, "we call ourselves the people's Baye Fall."

KOROMA RECEIVES ROK FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL

AB150845 Freetown Domestic Service in English 0700 GMT 15 Dec 82

[Text] The Korean Peninsula could become one of the greatest countries in the world if the ideological boundary between north and south was peacefully removed, Vice President S.I. Koroma said in Freetown yesterday. The first vice president, who was speaking to the director general of the Department of African Affairs at the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Korea, (Sun Yan Hung), said that Sierra Leone was in sympathy with the problems facing the people of Korea. We hope and pray that she will be united peacefully one day, he said. Mr Koroma welcomed Mr (Hung) to Sierra Leone on behalf of President Stevens, the government and people. He told the visitor that Sierra Leone was a small country with a small population but its people were working hard to maintain standards.

On the relationship between the Republic of Korea and Sierra Leone, Mr Koroma commended Ambassador Choe Chong-ik who was continuing the good work of his predecessors to cement the bonds of friendship.

Mr (Hung) informed Mr Koroma that his current tour was a follow-up to the visit to four African countries in August this year by the president of the Republic of Korea. Sierra Leone was added to his itinerary because of the very excellent relations between the two countries, he said. Mr (Hung) expressed gratitude to President Stevens and the people of Sierra Leone for their great moral support to the people of Korea. Mr (Hung), who has already held discussions with officials of the foreign ministry here, leaves Freetown today. He was accompanied to the office of the first vice president by Ambassador Choe Chong-ik and the counsellor at the ROK Embassy, (Yong Bin Bay). The secretary to the first vice president, Peter Koyembe, was also at the meeting.

CSO: 3400/432

SIERRA LEONE

BRIEFS

DPRK MEDICAL OFFICERS--At Midday [yesterday]--two medical officers from the DPRK were introduced to Dr Stevens by the charge d'affaires of the DPRK embassy in Sierra Leone. The men are here on an agreement between their country and Sierra Leone. Both men are to serve with the Sierra Leone military forces for an initial period of 3 years. [Text] [AB150840 Freetown Domestic Service in English 0700 GMT 15 Dec 82]

CSO: 3400/455

JOHANNESBURG CITES REPORT ON CREDIBILITY OF UN

MB151717 Johannesburg International Service in English 1500 GMT 15 Dec 82

[Station commentary: "United Nations' Network of Terror"]

[Text] The extraordinary claims and charges made in the United Nations' Security Council debate must be seen in their context.

As an agent for pronouncing judgment on South Africa's raid on the African National Congress [ANC] in Maseru, the United Nations has as little moral standing as the Soviet Union. It is, as much as the Kremlin itself, a prime participant in the dispute, an active supporter of the ANC and its terrorist activities.

That is the contact that emerges from a report issued this week by one of the leading private research institutions in the United States, the Heritage Foundation. It exposes the United Nations as one of the world's bigger direct financial contributors to the Soviet-directed international network of terrorism.

The Heritage Foundation is highly regarded by the Reagan administration, and the results of its investigations will have far reaching repercussions. For the clear implications of the report, as the compilers note, is that the West is unwittingly contributing to Soviet expansionism through terrorism that is ultimately directed against itself.

The United States pays 25 percent of the total United Nations budget, the West as a whole, 65 percent.

These are grave charges. Proof for them was found in the collating of official United Nations documents covering the past 8 years. In that time, the United Nations voted at least \$160 million for Marxist-orientated, Soviet-backed revolutionary movements. Not a single non or anti-Soviet movement received a cent.

Most of the funds went to the Kremlin's terrorist spearheads in the Middle East: the Palestine Liberation Organization; and Southern Africa--SWAPO, the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress.

But the damage goes much further. The most startling aspect of the foundation's findings is its disclosure of the extent to which the United Nations agencies have become fronts for direct involvement in the military activities of the Marxist movements. Thus, the United Nations' Institute for Namibia in Lusaka, and the Namibian Health and Education Center in Luanda, are being used to train SWAPO terrorist fighters. United Nations refugee centers in Botswana and Lesotho are being used to recruit terrorists for training in Eastern Europe.

The record is totally damning. It is, says the Heritage Foundation, time to act. At stake are not only the credibility of the United Nations--which is utterly destroyed--but the vital interests of the West.

CSO: 3400/455

SOVIETS HAVE NOTHING TO OFFER ANGOLA

MB141555 Johannesburg International Service in English 1500 GMT 14 Dec 82

[Station commentary: "Crocker in Moscow"]

[Text] It is indeed significant that the American assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, should find it necessary to fly to Moscow for talks with Soviet officials on the withdrawal of Cubans from Angola.

What this appears to indicate is that the decision to have the Cubans withdrawn from Angola does not lie exclusively with the MPLA Government of Angola, but that for such a decision to be taken a green light from the Soviet Union is essential.

This falls in line with what the South African minister of foreign affairs, Mr Roelof Botha said when he returned from the United States, where he held talks with Secretary of State George Schultz. Mr Botha said that the impression he gained from the Americans was that insofar as Angola was concerned, there was a 50 percent-plus chance of the Cubans withdrawing from Angola. However, he was far more pessimistic about the Soviet attitude.

He pointed out that the Soviet Union had a new leader in Mr Yuriy Andropov, and that he could find it humiliating if the Cubans left Angola.

The reason for this is obvious. The Soviet Union, afraid of direct action--because of the grave possibility this holds for nuclear warfare--has increasingly been using proxy forces to carry out its expansionist designs. One of the most spectacular successes it has achieved has been the use of the Cubans in Angola. What this meant for the Soviet Union was that it established a firm foothold in Southern Africa within striking distance of South Africa.

Insofar as Angola itself is concerned, the Soviets have shown conclusively by now that they have nothing to offer that country. In the 7 years that the Cubans have been there, Angola has fallen deeper into economic chaos, and the specter of civil war has spread over half the country.

American Vice President George Bush said after his African tour that the United States offered Angola the best opportunity for reaching a satisfactory solution to its problems. And indeed this must be accepted as true.



With the assistance of the United States, Angola could achieve an internal settlement between UNITA and the MPLA, and this could lead to a Cuban withdrawal and a settlement in Namibia.

The biggest obstruction to prosperity today in Angola comes from the Soviets and Cubans. The MPLA Government would do well to muster enough courage to get rid of these people.

CSO: 3400/455

EDITORIAL SPECULATES ON COST OF MASERU RAID

MB120913 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 12 Dec 82 p 38

[Editorial: "When the Fighting Has To Stop"]

[Text] Violence begets violence. This is the lesson which Lesotho learnt to its cost this week as South Africa proved true to its promise to strike hard against terrorists in neighboring countries which threaten its own stability.

How serious those threats were only South Africa's security chiefs know, but it appears, from the evidence to hand, that the ANC targets selected for the Maseru raid were involved in a planned Christmas campaign of terror in South Africa.

The temptation, therefore, to launch a pre-emptive strike and by so doing bring home to all our neighbouring states--and in the strongest possible way--the cost of harbouring terrorists must have been overwhelming.

One can only hope that before the government took this fateful decision it also reckoned the costs to South Africa of an action which however apparently justified, could exact a very high price indeed in terms of both international opprobrium and the stability of the sub-continent in which South Africa must negotiate its future.

The first consideration, which one trusts weighed heavily with South Africa's security chiefs, was the potential effect of the raid on the first glimmerings of peace which dawned with the Angolan-South African talks on Cape Verde earlier in the week.

It is too early to say whether those glimmerings will be permanently or even temporarily eclipsed by the events in Maseru--but the risk is high.

And if they are, there is a further risk that the guns of Maseru did more than kill some would-be terrorists, but inflicted some very serious wounds on South Africa's relations with a Reagan administration which has invested a great deal of its diplomatic capital in attempts to bring peace to the Angolan-Namibian border and thus create a vital area of stability in Southern Africa.

Add to this the hostility of Lesotho itself--a country with which South Africa has lived in albeit uneasy accord--and the cries of "We told you so" from other Southern African states which have long attempted to persuade the world that South Africa is the cause rather than the victim of instability in the sub-continent, and the costs come very high indeed.

But even if, after all these were added up, the raid appeared unavoidable; it is to be hoped that the government realised that, if violence begets violence, only negotiation can ensure peace.

That one day the fighting has to stop and talking start if the spiral of violence in this unhappy corner of the world is to be halted. And that hope for all its inhabitants lies not with more Maserus but with many more Cape Verdes.

CSO: 3400/455

RAID DIFFICULT TO CENSURE BUT TRAGIC

MB101658 Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 10 Dec 82 p 10

[Editorial: "The Maseru Strike"]

[Text] It is no secret that the ANC has embarked on a course of violence--a campaign aimed at effecting change in South Africa through the barrel of a gun. It is also common cause that this is an attitude that has evolved as a result of white South Africa's continuing reluctance to change a system that discriminates against blacks.

Yesterday's pre-emptive strike into Lesotho is a direct consequence of the ANC's planned recourse to armed assault against targets throughout the republic.

There are doubtless many people in this country who silently support and applaud the ANC's policy. That is their prerogative. What the ANC and its supporters need to comprehend, however, is that the adoption of violence as an instrument of political change is an extremely dangerous approach. Those who advocate it must expect, indeed accept, that arms will be taken up against them. The SADF has always made it clear that it will not hesitate to cross borders to attack and destroy ANC bases from which acts of terror are hatched and perpetrated against South Africa.

While this newspaper has consistently deplored the use of violence as an alternative to political negotiation, it remains difficult to censure the defence force for what is a natural military response to a situation which, if General Constand Viljoen, the head of the SADF, is to be believed, would have been guerrilla incursions across the Lesotho border during the festive season.

No efficient army can be blamed for acting to paralyse that kind of plan.

What is tragic, of course, is the inevitable suffering of the innocent. Five women and two children died in the Maseru raid. It seems, however, that the ANC set up its bases in the residential suburbs of the city--a tactic adopted to good effect by the PLO during the recent invasion of Lebanon by Israeli forces. The death of the civilians ought to prompt the Lesotho Government into examining more closely its acquiescence to the establishment of guerrilla bases in suburban areas.

But whatever the short term advantages of the Maseru strike and its highly successful predecessor, the Matola raid, they do nothing to detract from the fact that there is no military solution to South Africa's political quandry. Most of the people who died in yesterday's assault were not members of a foreign army with which this country is in a declared state of war. They were South Africans.

Until such time as amendments are made to the system that compels so many of our people to select violence as the only means of realising their political aspirations, a whole lot more South Africans, of all races will be killed in an escalating fabric of armed confrontation.

CSO: 3400/455

OPINION POLL SHOWS WIDESPREAD REFORMIST ATTITUDE

MB151204 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 15 Dec 82

[Station commentary: "Support for Constitutional Reform"]

[Text] Support for the South African Government's new constitutional proposals is still being received from all spheres of the population. The latest reaction is that of the South African Association of Chambers of Commerce, which has welcomed the initiative. In a statement it said it believed that political stability, which is one of the basic aims of the proposed political dispensation, and economic progress were interdependent.

The results of an opinion poll published recently by the SUNDAY TIMES have shown that there is widespread reformist attitudes prevailing in the country. Most white South Africans, including members of the opposition parties, support the new constitutional deal. The poll indicated that about 50 percent of progressive Federal Party supporters, the official opposition, would vote yes in a referendum on the proposals. Most coloreds and Asians have reservations, but were in favor of their leaders negotiating further with the government for a more acceptable set of proposals. Only 20 percent of coloreds and 25 percent of Asians wanted nothing to do with the new deal.

The decades-old deadlock of the inherited Westminster-type constitution is being broken. Consensus-seeking will characterize the style of government in the new dispensation, Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis has stated. Shaped by the realities of South Africa's multi-ethnic and plural situation, the new mould offers both protection for community control over our own affairs, and a means for achieving consensus in matters of common concern. It will reflect the two core realities: the common as well as the separate interests and demands of this country's white, colored and Asian communities.

Such a system would be one element of the overall framework. Another is the linkage with the independent black national states in a confederation, and in that development also the point has been reached, says Mr Heunis, where the ideals become practical politics. At present, there is cooperation through standing committees in a variety of spheres, including posts and telecommunications, agriculture, transport, health and welfare, monetary and economic

affairs, and education and training. There has long been close cooperation in defense and police work.

In parliament earlier this year, Prime Minister Botha said there was nothing to prevent a confederal assembly from negotiating issues such as reciprocal citizens' rights, residential rights and work opportunity. In a confederal framework, such matters were negotiated among independent states seeking consensus without any one being required to sacrifice any part of its sovereignty. True stability, said the minister of internal affairs, Mr F. W. De Klerk, on his recent visit to Washington, means the ability to anticipate and accommodate change, the ability to broaden participation in democracy without the destruction of democracy. That is the course on which my government has embarked.

CSO: 3400/455

SOUTH AFRICA WARNS LESOTHO ON EMPLOYMENT, BORDER CONTROL

MB170720 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 17 Dec 82

[Text] The government has warned Lesotho that employment opportunities in South Africa for Lesotho citizens could be jeopardized if Lesotho continues to harbor terrorists who are active against South Africa. The warning was contained in a speech to the UN Security Council by the South African ambassador to the United Nations, Mr David Steward. Mr Steward appealed to Lesotho to reconsider its support for terrorists. He said if the Government of Lesotho did not revise its standpoint, South Africa would have to consider intensifying the control measures on the border between the two countries and limit the free movement of Lesotho citizens across the border.

Mr Steward was taking part in the Security Council debate on South African military operations against the ANC targets in Maseru last week. He said by accepting South Africa's offer to conclude nonaggression agreements with its neighbors, Lesotho could bring the present confrontation to an end and contribute to peace in Southern Africa.

The South African ambassador also said that the government believed that the majority of the people of Lesotho did not support their government's policy regarding the ANC terrorists in their country. He said that it was known that certain members of the Lesotho Government were concerned about the destabilizing influence the terrorists had, not only on surrounding areas but also on Lesotho itself.

Mr Steward accused the United Nations of inciting and encouraging terrorism against South Africa. He said that for too many years members of the United Nations had turned a blind eye to the activities of organizations such as the ANC. In many cases member countries had lent the ANC vital covert support in an attempt to ingratiate themselves with radical opinion.

Mr Steward also said that the resolution which the Security Council has adopted regarding South Africa's actions in Maseru was one-sided. The resolution contained no reference to the terrorist activities of the ANC, which had prompted the South African action. There was also no reference to the fact that Lesotho allowed its territory to be used as a springboard for terrorist attacks on its neighbors.

CSO: 3400/455



MILITARY FORCE SIGN OF POLITICAL FAILURE

MB120833 Johannesburg SUNDAY EXPRESS in English 12 Dec 82 p 26

[Editorial: "In the End, We Will Negotiate"]

[Text] The South African commando raid on Maseru is neither an end nor a beginning. It is only a milestone on a bitter path that has been tramped by the Americans in Vietnam, the French, the Rhodesians and, most recently, the Israelis in Lebanon. At its end lies a variety of horrors.

The Israelis have been shattered by the massacre of their enemies in Beirut and it is not yet clear whether they retain faith in their invincible arms. The American will to pursue the fight in Vietnam collapsed when the massacre at My Lai raised in American minds the question: Is this the civilisation we are fighting to preserve?

When the French Air Force bombed the Tunisian village of Sakiet, a sanctuary for Algerian terrorists, the public reaction was not pride but revulsion and the will to hold the colony was gone. The Rhodesians struck across their borders with terrifying effect, while their home base disintegrated behind them.

None of these analogies fits the circumstances of the Maseru raid, but each sounds in its own way a warning against the premature celebration of a feat of arms.

Military action is usually a symptom of political failure, seldom a solution. Even so decisive a military strike as the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki left not security but a balance of nuclear terror. It also left the victors a heritage of paralysing moral uncertainty about the use of their weaponry. A few things are as corrosive of national will as the loss of a sense that a nation's military operations are morally based.

Military leaders, by definition men of narrow vision, don't like to be reminded of the limitations that impose themselves on military action. That is why, at a time like this, it is necessary for the rest of the community to take stock: Is killing the solution? How much killing will it take to arrive at a solution? How many civilian lives must be sacrificed to military need? Have we the stomach for the job?

The answers are self-evident. Cross-border raids may indeed be necessary to contain a security situation that is slipping out of the control of the police and the normal internal security forces. The comments of the government's main political opponents in the past few days have made it clear that few people will object to such raids when they are inescapable.

But the need for such raids is evidence in itself of political failure.

The killing in Maseru may have brought us a little more time to seek political solutions or it may, like the Anglo-Boer war, have sown the seeds of political conflict that will stretch across two or three generations. Either way, it should spur us all to seek negotiated solutions to the tensions that are driving this country down the path of war.

If military action has a purpose, it is perhaps to drive men to negotiate. The raid on Maseru, the loss of civilian life and the killing of innocents, can perhaps be morally redeemed if it leads the leaders of this nation to confess that we really have no choice: We can negotiate now or we can kill until we are sated, and then negotiate.

CSO: 3400/455

## TOP TEN ANNUAL BUSINESS REPORTS BEST EVER

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 28 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by Stephen Orpen]

[Text]

AS indicated last week, the list of the Top 10 Annual Reports for 1982 has now been finalised by Business Times and the panel of leading chartered accountants selected as judges by the SA Institute of Chartered Accountants.

In addition this year, reports of unlisted companies (not quoted on the stock exchange) were also considered for honours under a separate category — an innovation much welcomed by stakeholders and the eligible organisations themselves.

Thus, instead of 500 companies, the judges had altogether to consider far more this year.

The JSE-listed companies selected as the Top Ten are (in alphabetical order): Allied Technologies (Altech); Anglo-Alpha; Chemical Holdings; Malbak; Plate Glass; Premier Group; Protea Holdings; Quinton Hazell Superite; Seardel and the Tongaat group.

*All except one of these reports also made the Top 10 last year. The newcomer is Quinton Hazell Superite.*

The best of the 10 will be revealed at tomorrow's banquet (see details elsewhere on this page).

The reports of two organisations — Escorn and Iscor — were judged worthy of separate recognition under the new unlisted category.

It was expected that more unlisted organisations would earn awards, but standards did not justify this.

On the other hand, the Escorn and Iscor reports were described by the judges as "outstanding — better than most of the listed-company reports".

At the same time, the

judges described the standards set by this year's Top 10 listed companies as "easily the best we have encountered over the years".

They added, however, that the overall standard of the 250-odd reports which were rejected almost immediately was "probably worse" than last year. A full exposition of the criteria used by the judges in assessing the reports can be obtained from the SA Institute of Chartered Accountants.

However, the judges are reluctant to divulge *all* the details because "we have found this invites unconstructive debate after the event".

"We believe there should be a comprehensive 'scientific' scoring system — which we have, and which is not subject to argument. But we also think it is necessary to avoid excessive rigidity in the judging system.

"Other award programmes for reports use an entirely computerised scoring system. By contrast, we give some weight to a human ele-

ment, since we believe annual reports are dynamic, and may earn points for innovative or creative features.

"The scope here is too wide to be included in any computer programme."

In brief, the "formulated" part of the judging was conducted under six major headings, each covering a number of sub-headings.

For instance, under the first heading (Directors' Report and Chairman's Statement) the sub-headings were: Review of past results; Setting of financial objectives; Comparison of financial objectives; Review of future prospects; Overall impression.

The maximum number of points that could be earned in each of the six main categories were as follows: Directors' Report and Chairman's Statement, 35; Prior Years' Comparative Statistics, 12; Statement of Wealth, 7; Other Information, 25; Presentation, 21.

## HARD TIMES HIT NATION'S HARBOURS

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 3 Dec 82 p 11

[Text]

SOUTH Africa's major ports have seen a drastic slump in the number of ships berthed each day, with Cape Town being the hardest hit with no working ships in port during the past few days.

A spokesman for the port office in Cape Town said this week that for the second time this year there were no deep-sea general cargo vessels in port.

"There are only a few coasters and fishing trawlers here. On Sunday night we had a few container vessels, while on Friday there were only two working ships in port," he added.

In Durban, the average number of ships in port has dropped by 10%.

"For the past three months we have seen a marked decrease in the number of vessels in port and we anticipate that it will drop even further, but not to the extent of Cape Town where there are no ships in port," explained Durban's port captain, Capt Malcolm Rose.

During a recent tour of Natal, the General Manager of the South African Transport Services, Dr Kobus Loubser, said the situation reflected how recession in the world economy was affecting South Africa.

Six vessels are presently

waiting for cargo at the outer anchorage, with some having been waiting idle for more than a month.

"Under normal circumstances such as the beginning of the year, we were averaging 45 ships in port per day.

"In the last three months this has dropped to an average of 35 per day, but we don't anticipate this figure to drop to less than 25 per day," Capt Rose said.

Traffic through Richards Bay, however, has remained fairly consistent with coal quays working at 90% capacity and bulk cargo ships having to wait for berths.

The number of ships handled by Port Elizabeth had dropped about 40%, said Capt Edward Page, the harbour's port captain.

The decline in traffic, he said, had become apparent towards the middle of this year.

This month the port has been handling about three vessels a day in comparison with six a day earlier this year.

The world maize surplus had caused a slight downturn in exports through East London, but traffic had generally kept flowing fairly steadily with between three and five ships calling daily, said port officials there.

CSO: 3400/4400

SOUTH AFRICA

MAN WANTED IN AWB CASE FLEES TO HOLLAND

MB190901 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 19 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Neil Hooper and Ada Stuijt]

[Excerpts] The most wanted man in South Africa is on the run after escaping the nationwide swoop on the extreme rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) by hours.

Nazi sympathizer Mr C. J. "Kees" Moes fled to Holland "for medical reasons" as police were poised to arrest him.

The 38-year-old son of a Dutch war criminal is thought to be the Mr Big behind the AWB's alleged stockpiling of arms.

In last week's security branch sweep, nine AWB men--including leader Mr Eugene Terre'blanche--were detained after the discovery of arms caches in mealie fields, rivers and dams.

Mr Moes, a gun fanatic, left the country suddenly last Friday.

The SUNDAY TIMES traced him two days ago to the home of his mother, Mrs. Mesje Moes, in Bergshoek, near Rotterdam.

He said he was in Holland for medical treatment and had no comment to make about his involvement with the AWB.

Three months ago Mr Moes, a member of the AWB "Opperaad," was found guilty in the Pretoria regional court of possessing:

--a stolen military missile.

--an unlicensed Soviet SKS semi-automatic rifle.

--an illegally made pen which fired .22 bullets.

--a stolen rifle and camouflage uniforms, and a two-way radio.

Mr Moes was also convicted of stealing two rifle magazines, a bayonet and rifle parts.

He was given fines of R1,000 or 500 days' jail, plus a nine-month prison sentence suspended for five years.

CSO: 3400/484

# NEED FOR MORE CITIZEN FORCE OR SENIOR OFFICERS EXPLORED

Johannesburg ARMED FORCES in English Nov82 p 14

[Text]

The appointment of a Deputy Chief of the South African Army is a move that will as far as structure is concerned will bring the South African Defence more into line with most other armies. The SADF has a command structure, be it Army, Division, Command or Brigade that provides for a Commander who is followed in order of seniority by his Senior Staff Officer Operations (SSO 1 Ops). The Staff Table makes no provision for a Deputy Commander, Second-in-Command or for a Chief of Staff, as is the normally accepted international procedure. The British have the system whereby the Divisional Commander is supported by two Staff Colonels and the Americans have a Chief of Staff who normally holds a very tight reign on Departmental heads who can only reach the Commander through him. The French have a Chief of Staff system that goes down to Regimental level (a French Regiment consists of two or three battalions).

The Commander under the existing South African system works directly with his senior staff officers, who have no Chief of Staff acting as a filter or conveyor of orders, and in the absence of the Commander it is the SSO 1 Operations who in addition to his departmental functions acts as the Commander. This practice places a very heavy load on both the Commander and SSO 1 Operations and it is possible that it was conceived to meet the requirements of an unconventional war, rather than that of a conventional war. Even under our existing semi-peacetime conditions this can place a heavy load, time wise, on a Commander who has a large number of military and civil commitments that he has to meet which are all part of his task. It is all very well for a senior officer to be delegated to attend these commitments but not always as acceptable as a designated number two would be.

Accepted practice is for the Chief of Staff to be engaged in planning, while the Commander is controlling any operation in which the formation may be engaged, a function that would seldom if ever be necessary in low key unconventional war. In theory all Staff Departments are able to work without their heads and with depleted personnel, but to plan for a large formation to be designed to run with it's SSO 1 acting as Commander and without a deputy plus an acting SSO 1, in a conventional war situation would appear to warrant re-appraisal. There are other mitigating factors in favour of the appointment of Deputy Commanders or Chief of Staff that

are worth consideration. With our Citizen Army we have very few ranking Citizen force Officers, at present the count reveals: South African Navy, 1 Commodore; South African Army; 1 Brigadier, CF; 1 Brigadier, Short Service (ex CF).

With the Citizen force element making up plus 90% of the total South African Defence Force strength there must be a need for more senior officers to be trained to fill the many senior staff posts that will be created by any form of mobilization and the answer could well be found in the appointing of senior Citizen Force officers as Deputy, Chiefs of Staff or Second-in-Commands to the existing Commanders.

The two United States national Guards, the Army Guard has a strength of 400 000, are generalled by their own officers who are appointed by a Board that consists of two Regular general officers and one National Guard general officer. The future generals are drawn from colonels who have served a required number of years in that rank and who have had the necessary education in the various US Service School system. This system does work and one possible reason, perhaps the major reason, is that the United States military system has a history of firing incompetent senior officers. This was the case with many, many National Guard general officers during the early months of the last war. It was a case of here today, gone tomorrow. But the programme had provided a pool of general officers who had had the opportunity to complete top level study and gain knowledge as understudies.

Shortly after the outbreak of the 1939/45 war the Union Defence Force had a number of Citizen Force Brigadiers as operational brigade Commanders and it is quite possible that the role that these Brigades undertook would today be fulfilled by Divisions. In any appointment of this nature there are many obstacles that would have to be overcome the most difficult would be the finding of a man who is able to complete both a high calibre civilian and military occupation at the same time and complete the required periods of military study. While we do have the rank and file, they make up the bulk of the SADF, drawn from the civilian sector we do not have the senior ranks, and if this is considered a necessary requirement now that the threat of a conventional war has to be faced - it is time to appraise the situation. As has been so often stated we are a citizen army, and somehow the commercial and industrial sectors have to be convinced that it is their senior personnel who have a role to play within the South African Defence Force. And that commerce and industry can derive benefits from their personnel qualifying on senior SADF courses.

The original Defence Act of 1912 made provision for the post of Commandant General an officer that was responsible for the Citizen Force. The first incumbent being Brigadier General C.F. Beyers; perhaps the time is now ripe for the appointment of a Commandant General for the Citizen Force drawn from the ranks of the C.F.



UNIONS TO MEET ON SCRAPPING OF REGISTRATION

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Dec 82 p 4

[Article by Jentje Knappe]

[Text]

**BLACK** trade unions in the mining industry are to meet early next year to discuss the scrapping of registration by the Chamber of Mines as a prerequisite for recognition.

Though widely applauded in labour circles, the chamber's decision on registration is feared by some as likely to lead to a mad scramble for Black members in the industry unless emergent unions can agree on unity and a demarcation of areas of recruitment.

The move by the chamber leaves the Black workforce on mines wide open to recruitment from all sides. Even unions registered to accept only Whites in their ranks will be able to recruit Blacks and negotiate for them provided they can attract "significant" membership and obtain recognition from the chamber accordingly.

The Federated Mining, Explosives and Chemical Workers' Union, at the moment registered for Coloureds and Asians, has already approached the chamber for guidance on this aspect.

It has been told that as

long as it recruits sufficient numbers of Blacks in the fields it wishes to represent and meets other criteria for recognition, the chamber may recognise it as a negotiator for Blacks as well as Coloureds and Asians.

**Smooth**

Mr Ike van der Watt, general secretary of FMECWU, said yesterday that the chamber's decision on registration was interesting and would smooth the path for many unions.

"There's a chance though, that there might be a real scramble for Black members now and I only hope that unions take care not to grow too fast and exceed the capabilities of their infrastructures.

"It's easy enough to recruit members and now the field is wide open for such recruitment. What is not so easy is to sustain a union's activities and retain its members."

**Breakthrough**

The general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said his union would be careful not to rush into mass recruitment at the expense of

proper union organisation. There was a real possibility, however, that some might do so and that new unions seeking to represent Blacks could spring up virtually overnight.

"The chamber's decision on registration is seen by us as quite a breakthrough on the labour scene. But to make sure that unions do not clash with each other it is essential that we all meet and try to establish a unified union caucus and discuss issues like demarcation."

Mr Ramaphosa said such a meeting should be set up as soon as possible. It would probably take place very early next year.

CSO: 3400/440

SAAN, ARGUS REACH NEW STAFF PAY AGREEMENT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Dec 82 p 4

[Text]

A NEW national salary and wage agreement in the printing industry has been reached between the Argus Company and South African Associated Newspapers and the Media Workers Association of South Africa.

A joint statement by Argus and SAAN said yesterday that in terms of this agreement, all weekly-paid members of MWASA on Argus group newspapers will receive an increase of 14 percent or R10, whichever is the greater, on their current wages from the first pay week in January 1983, and a further four percent increase on current wages from July 1, 1983, subject to review nearer the time.

Also from January, monthly-paid members of MWASA employed by the Argus, excluding editorial staff in their first four years of service, will receive an across-the-board increase of eight percent on their salaries.

Further merit increases will be paid to MWASA members at the discretion of the company.

The total salary bill of those monthly-paid MWASA members who were in the employ of Argus Company newspapers on January 1, 1982, will increase by 12,5 per cent by January 1, 1983.

Any increases granted during the course of 1982 will be included in the 12,5 percent calculation.

MWASA editorial staff in their first four years of service will be paid according to the following grades: 1st year, R400 per month; 2nd year, R500; 3rd year, R600; 4th year, R700 — and on completion of 4th year, R800.

Only exceptions to the agreement are MWASA members employed as inserters by the Argus group's Durban newspapers. They received an increase of 18 percent on weekly wages from July 1, 1982, and their position

will be reconsidered at mid-year.

In the agreement reached with SAAN, weekly-paid MWASA members will receive a flat increase of R9,50 per week on December 1982 wages which will increase the current MWASA weekly payroll cost by 12,8 percent.

In addition, SAAN has guaranteed the continued existence of its current internal appraisal scheme and further guarantees that any consequent merit increase of less than 3,75 percent will be reviewed jointly by management and MWASA at chapel level.

The SAAN agreement on monthly salaries provides for an across-the-board increase of seven percent based on January 1982 levels.

MWASA's monthly-paid editorial staff will receive graded salaries similar to those of the Argus group.

CSO: 3400/440

## GOVERNMENT'S INCOME RESTRAINT POLICY EXAMINED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 3 Dec 82 p 13

[Article by Howard Preece: "Income Restraint--Only Half a Policy"]

[Text]

**THE South African Government has decided to adopt some limited kind of "incomes policy" to try to restrain overall wage and price increases.**

This was made clear by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, in Pretoria on Wednesday in his report on the latest meeting of his Economic Advisory Council.

It is reflected, as starters, in the decisions to ask Escom to look again at its proposed 16.3% rise in electricity tariffs and in the plan to cut petrol prices by about a cent a litre in March.

The overall policy decision had, however, been anticipated last month — as Business Mail reported — by Mr Owen Horwood, the Minister of Finance, in his address to the Financial Mail investment conference.

The new strategy will directly affect only the public sector, or areas of the economy under the effective control of the Government.

It will inevitably but rather misleadingly be labelled "anti-inflationary".

In fact, the object is (or ought to be) more complex.

There is, as I said in this column last week, no theoretical economic mystery about how to curb inflation.

If the money supply taps are turned tight enough for long enough — if the banks have little to lend and that only at forbidding interest rates — the rate of price

increases is bound to decline.

The catch is that the real economy — growth, employment and new fixed investment — might also be driven into a deep and sustained recession.

What Mr Botha and his colleagues are now trying to do is to find ways of bringing inflation significantly down from the present 14% to 15% while avoiding the worst possible side-effects.

They are hoping to ease SA's "inflation psychosis", to induce wage earners to accept smaller money increases and businessmen to put prices up by lower amounts than might otherwise have been the case.

There will, however, be no wage-price controls or even official guidelines for the private sector.

The hope is simply that if public sector pay and prices are restrained this might reduce cost-push inflationary pressures in the economy generally.

But there should be no misunderstanding about two key points:

● Tough monetary and fiscal policies will, and must, remain the ultimate weapons in the attack on inflation.

Incomes policies can, I think, sometimes have a useful short-term complementary role in securing wider economic objectives.

Where they deservedly get discredited is when they are used, ineffectively eventually anyway, as substitutes for financial discipline.

● There will be no escaping a great deal of pain and suffering whatever policy mix is decided on.

Inflation cannot be consequentially reduced without some severe accompanying economic downturn.

An incomes policy might alleviate the situation, it cannot do away with it.

How else, apart from Escom and petrol, will the policy be applied?

Public servants are going to find themselves facing a tough pay policy for 1983.

Money increases of about 10% — that is, well below the present inflation rate — may be the norm.

It looks, however, as though the 15% rise in rail tariffs is to go ahead as announced last month.

But other State corporations, such as Iscor, will no doubt be pressured by the Cabinet to keep price rises next year down to the bare minimum, even if it means borrowing more to make up for revenue shortfalls.

This is how Mr Botha explained the new approach.

"In its own sphere the Government will... do all in its power to apply a policy in respect of wages and salaries and administered prices which would be consistent with the demands of the economic circumstances.

"It is realised that administered prices, both in the public and private sectors, can contribute towards shoring up the inflation rate, notwithstanding continued monetary and fiscal discipline.

"It is unfortunately true that in an economy where a large part of the wages and prices is not determined by impersonal market forces but by discretionary decisions of individuals and

groups a natural decision exists for such decision makers to attempt to protect their real incomes and profits against increases and expected increases in prices in general, including other administered prices."

Mr Horwood told the Financial Mail conference: "It has become necessary to reconsider the whole question of prices and tariffs by public corporations and other public entities.

"This will be no easy task. To go to the extreme of keeping these prices and tariffs artificially low as a means of combating inflation would be unwise, as it would not only distort relative prices and therefore lead to the misallocation of resources but also create serious financing problems for the entities concerned.

"On the other hand, to go to the other extreme of giving these public entities, which are often monopolies, a completely free hand to raise their prices and tariffs as and when they see fit, regardless of cyclical, balance of payments or budgetary problems, can at times conflict with official stabilisation policy."

Mr Horwood added: "However, the introduction of a formal 'incomes policy' in the shape of either mandatory wage-price controls or wage-price guidelines continues to be unacceptable to the authorities."

In other words, the authorities are now prepared to go some of the way down the road long recommended by Dr Johan Cloete, the chief economist of Barclays National Bank.

They are not, however, going the whole journey.

# MYSTERY SEEN SURROUNDING BIG ESCOM CONTRACT

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 8 Dec 82 p 16

[Article by Mervyn Harris]

[Text]

A contract awarded to Chubb Lock and Safe Company to supply equipment to Escom is giving rise to growing discussion.

The project is back on the drawing boards only weeks before delivery and completion of the contract was scheduled. This follows a series of events and unexplained setbacks which have shrouded the contract since it was

put out to tender by Escom in October last year.

Questions being asked in the case of the Escom contract, dealt with in the following article, involve several areas which The Star cannot legally canvass.

The Star has withheld some reports as the details may be seen to impinge on one or more of the many laws forbidding publication about "matters of security."

A company has been given another chance by Escom to deliver a contract which has been riddled with unanswered questions since it was awarded.

Nearly 14 months after Chubb Lock and Safe Company obtained the contract to supply equipment to Escom, the project is back on the drawing boards.

This follows the failure of the equipment to pass tests carried out in Pretoria, according to those connected to the testing bodies.

The delivery and completion of the project was scheduled for the end of this year.

## THREE INVITED

The failure of the tests is the culmination to a series of events and unexplained setbacks which have

shrouded the contract since it was put out to tender by Escom in October 1981.

Three companies were invited to submit tenders for the contract after Escom's adviser on such matters, Mr Ullrich Overbeck, head of engineering consultants Insor, had drawn up specifications for the equipment in line with accepted world standards.

The three companies were: Giant, also producing safes and other devices as a division of Abercom; Bischoff, a similar arm of Murray and Roberts; and Chubb Lock and Safe, a subsidiary of listed Chubb Holdings.

Tender requirements sent to each tenderer included:

- A proven track record.

- Submission of test reports.

- Submission of detailed drawings.

The documents were handed back by Giant, which said it was not able to meet the requirements laid down in the specifications.

Reports circulating in the market say the firm did, however, price the job at about R7,4 million. Confirmation of this could not be obtained from Giant.

## TURNED DOWN

About a week before the tenders closed, Bischoff suggested to Chubb that a joint tender be submitted in view of the size and complexity of the job. Chubb turned down the offer.

Bischoff then tendered a price of R7,6 million. Because of the

scale and complexity of the contract, the tender was in partnership with a West German firm, Heerum.

But Chubb got the contract after putting in a price of about R4,1 million.

The awarding of the contract to Chubb seems surprising in view of subsequent events. Chubb seemed unable to meet the criteria laid down in the specifications and sought assistance from Bischoff and its associate companies.

Representatives of the two companies met at the Burgers Park Hotel in Pretoria. Mr Xavier Herscher, managing director of Heerum, flew from West Germany to attend the meeting.

## TRANSLATOR

Present at the meet-

ing on behalf of Chubb Lock and Safe were its managing director, Mr Peter Jephson, and works director, Mr David Firth. A translator was also at the meeting.

Bischoff-Heerum said it would cost R1 million for know-how and expertise. The total cost of the test reports submitted for its tender was R400 000.

Chubb, said it was not prepared to pay the price and turned it down.

The original drawings submitted by Chubb were designed by its advisers on the contract, Von Grueting and Partners, Pretoria-based structural consultants.

New drawings were then apparently obtained from a foreign-based company, EBD, which is associated with Von Grueting and Partners on certain projects and operates from its offices and telephone number in Pretoria. EBD also happens to be a consultant to Escom.

#### QUESTIONS

The unfolding of events up to this stage poses three awkward questions:

● Did Chubb seek assistance from Bischoff-Heerum when

it got the contract after previously rejecting their offer of submitting a joint tender?

● Was it correct for firms so closely associated to act as consultants to both parties — Escom and Chubb — on the same contract?

● Did Escom accept a tender from Chubb which was incomplete in that it did not comply with the criteria?

Tests were finally carried out on the equipment made by Chubb from the designs. They were carried out on November 11 in Pretoria by Commandant M A M "Chuck" Chambers in the presence of a CSIR official.

The CSIR official has confirmed to The Star that he was present at the tests.

#### FAILED

According to sources connected to the testing bodies, the equipment failed to pass the tests.

Mr Dirk Ackerman, managing director of Chubb Holdings, said the company was proceeding with the contract to deliver the equipment.

Mr Peter Jephson, managing director of Chubb Lock and Safe,

said: "It is not our policy to discuss anything with third parties which concern matters between ourselves and clients."

He added: "Heerum approached us after we were awarded the contract, indicating its willingness to offer us assistance."

"The meeting at the Burgers Park Hotel was only to do with small aspects of the work and had nothing to do with concepts."

Mr Herscher could not be contacted in West Germany but a local representative of Bischoff-Heerum said Chubb had sought substantial assistance.

#### DENIAL

Mr E du Plessis, head of public relations, Escom, said it was not true that the Chubb tender was not to specifications. "The Escom tender board awarded the tender to Chubb because economically it was considered the most favourable," he said.

He said Escom accented that EBD might have certain business relations with Von Grueting and Partners. "Escom is not, however, aware that EBD is acting for any tenderers or contractors in this matter."

TIMING, IMPACT OF PC'S SECOND REPORT NOTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 28 Nov 82 p 38

[Article by Ivor Wilkins: "Burp! What a Mouthful from the PC After the Main Constitutional Course"]

[Text] For the President's Council to produce a second report on the constitution now is remarkably like a host serving hors d'oeuvres while his diners are at the coffee and liqueur stage.

It might create a mild sensation, but has scant hope of affecting the course of a meal already in the stage of discreet burps and incipient indigestion.

While the Government obviously has little option but to be polite about the receipt of the report, it is abundantly clear that its impact on the current constitutional exercise will be minimal.

In an interview with the Sunday Times published elsewhere today, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, makes it clear that it is the Government's guidelines that are policy. And in politics, it is policy that counts.

The guidelines, outlined by Prime Minister P W Botha at the National Party's Federal Congress in Bloemfontein at the end of July and since endorsed by the party's four provincial congresses, are the basis of on-going consultation with members of the coloured and Indian communities.

The apparent lack of status for the PC document once again raises questions about a body that, with an estimated cost to date of well over R5-million, must

rate as the most expensive commission of inquiry in local history.

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### Unlikely

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With its recommendations on Pageview and District Six summarily ignored by the Government and its central level constitutional proposals heavily revised, it hardly rates as the most influential commission we have had.

"Yes, it does not augur very well for the prestige of the council," conceded one Government source this week. "But, that is if you look at it only from a cost-effective point of view."

"Its real value lies in its symbolism. It was important to create a multiracial body of this kind and allow it to function. In that sense it has been worth it."

Apart from its too-late-to-really-matter arrival, the President's Council document is strange in other ways. It certainly will have done little to enhance the reputation of the constitutional committee, despite its racial and political mix, as guardians of democratic tradition.

For, the second report in material aspects is dis-



tinctly more autocratic than even the Government's constitutional intentions for whites, coloureds and Indians.

The PC, for instance, would grant greater powers to the executive president, than the Government's proposals do.

This has heightened fears that already exist in the Government's package of a potential dictator in South Africa, worries scarcely assuaged by the PC's constitutional chairman, Dr Schalk van der Merwe, who airily conceded to reporters that this was possible — but unlikely.

One of the all too few checks on the president in the Government's guidelines is the fact that disputes about what constitutes common interest and separate group interest should be refereed by the President's Council, whose decision would be binding.

Incredibly, the second PC report tries to undermine its own future role by saying thanks, but no thanks. It believes the president should have that task.

The PC report makes no provision for a vote of no confidence in the president at all, whereas the Government repeatedly assured its congresses that such a provision would be retained in the new constitution.

Also, the PC shows a complete disregard for the role of minority parties in the proposed system.

It recommends that the vital joint committees, which is where the real political horse trading on the matters of common concern will take place, should reflect the 4:2:1 numbers ratio that will exist between the white, coloured and Indian chambers.

That proposal rules out any prospect of opposition participation in the committees: they would be sidelined into eternal wallflower status, invited to the ball but forbidden to dance.

There is some relief in Mr Heunis' categorical assurances that the Government has every intention of including the opposition par-

ties in those committees.

"The establishment of such committees does not detract from the rule of the opposition parties in any way because it would seem obvious that the opposition parties will also be represented on the (joint) standing committees," he said.

His assurance implies that outside of the chambers, the 4:2:1 ratio will not necessarily be rigidly followed — a view already stated in terms of the Cabinet: the Government has refused to be bound by a racial formula for the Cabinet, arguing that merit only should be the criterion.

Explaining the view on the standing committees, one informed source said: "Their task will be to achieve consensus decisions, which is different from majority decisions. The numbers in the committees, therefore, are not decisive. It is regarded as crucial that the opposition parties be included."

Of course, none of these finesses touches the central objection of the official Opposition, namely that there is no provision for blacks in the proposed system.

Indeed, any hopes that the Government had some hidden agenda to include blacks later have been killed in no uncertain terms by the Prime Minister's statement, since repeated by other Ministers, that there are no plans whatsoever for a black chamber of Parliament.

That is the public position. In private it is no different. "Forget it. It's out. It's just not on," a senior source said.

## Quixotic

In the absence of any other evidence, that means government policy for blacks remains rooted in the belief that one day there will be no African citizens of South Africa; political expression for Africans will be through the proposed confederation.

If that seems a Quixotic faith in the light of projections that by the turn of the

century there will be some 21-million urban blacks inextricably enmeshed with South Africa, geographically, socially and most important economically, it is also a huge stumbling block for the current constitutional exercise.

Adherence to that policy would seem to make it impossible for the Official Opposition to support the new dispensation because of a fundamental commitment to full citizenship rights for all South Africans, a definition in which they include Africans.

It also makes it extraordinarily difficult for coloureds and Indians to cooperate. Government sources seem sanguine about the prospects of coloured participation, but admit that persuading Indians to climb aboard is more problematic.

It is the "Inkatha Factor" that worries them. The majority of Indians live in Natal. The bulk of their clientele are Zulus, most of whom are members of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement. Inkatha is implacably opposed to the constitutional plan.

Unhappy memories of the Cato Manor riots and the plight of Indians in Africa generally make this a compelling equation against displeasing Inkatha.

The Inkatha Factor will also be felt by the coloured Labour Party when it meets in January to decide its policy on the new dispensation. Its congress will be in Eshowe, right in the heartland of Zulu territory.

It is reliably understood that in consultations with the Indian politicians, the Government is adopting a take-it-or-leave-it line. There appears to be a willingness to go ahead without the Indians, who, if they plump for non-participation, would be left to make do with the current SA Indian Council as their political vehicle.

But, so far, government sources categorise the process as "still on track" and have a timetable worked out for the implementation

of the new constitution.

This involves introducing legislation during the early stages of the next session of Parliament, probably around April. The legislation will then go to the Parliamentary Select Committee on the Constitution, which is where the Progressive Federal Party is pinning its main hopes of negotiating substantive amendments to the current plan.

The timetable calls for the enabling legislation to be completed during the 1983 Parliamentary session — a task that will probably entail many night sittings and possibly even a slightly longer than usual duration.

Elections for the coloured and Indian representatives are scheduled for late September or early October.

There is unconfirmed speculation in political circles that a short session of the new three-chamber Parliament might be convened late in the year, possibly to dispense with the ceremonials of formally constituting the new arrangement.

Certainly, it is the inten-

tion to have all systems firing by January 1984.

The first tasks of the new Parliament will be functions confined only to the majority parties in each chamber.

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## Epic saga

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These will be to elect a president, confidently predicted to be the current Prime Minister, and for each chamber to elect their quota (20 whites, 10 coloureds and five Indians) of representatives to the new President's Council.

Parliamentarians may not be simultaneously members of the President's Council.

With the President's nomination of the remaining 25 members of the President's Council, the structures of the dispensation will be finally in position.

Getting that far will represent for the Government something of an epic saga. Making it work ... well, that will be another story entirely.

CSO: 3400/4400

DURBAN BUS APARTHEID CAN'T BE DEFENDED, SAYS MAYOR

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Dec 82 p 15

[Article by Tim Clarke]

[Text]

**DURBAN.** — The Mayor of Durban, Mrs Sybil Hotz, yesterday expressed bitter disappointment at the decision by the Local Road Transportation Board to turn down an application by the city to desegregate bus services on some routes.

The decision was made known to the Durban Transport Management Board on Wednesday evening. No reasons were given.

The decision was made known to the Durban Transport Management Board on Wednesday evening. No reasons were given.

Mrs Hotz said that apart from the financial implications the decision could not be defended on moral grounds.

She said it was one of those things the city could never justify to the many diplomats and overseas people who visited Durban.

Financially, alone, the decision was indefensible.

White buses were running empty and were costing ratepayers a staggering amount.

She pointed out that Durban's bus service had been running at a loss for years.

Mrs Hotz said it had

been hoped that desegregating some routes and letting non-Whites use all buses would greatly improve the financial situation.

The general manager of the Durban Transport Management Board, Mr Marshall Cuthbert, said yesterday he was also very disappointed at the decision. The next move would be to appeal to the National Transport Commission, he said.

The president of the Durban Chamber of Commerce, Mr Jeremy Whysall, also strongly criticised the decision.

He said it was obvious a multiracial service would be more profitable. It made sense that in areas such as Durban North domestic workers travelling to the area should be able to fill buses while White commuters would fill them again travelling to work in the city.

The decision was hailed by members of the Conservative Party and the White Rhino Club.

Both organisations, together with the South Africa First Campaign and a minister of the Christian Conservative Church, opposed the application by the Durban Transport Management Board.

MILITARY 'EXERCISES' SEEN AS FACTOR IN BORDER STRIFE

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 6 Dec 82 p 1

[Article by Don Marshall]

[Text]

MILITARY manoeuvres in the Northern Transvaal during the past six weeks could have contributed to the build-up of tension along South Africa's borders with Mozambique and Zimbabwe, culminating last Friday in the abduction of a former Rhodesian policeman in an international incident near Beit Bridge.

At the weekend officials of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs were still trying to negotiate the return of Corporal Stephen Mutasa, a former member of the British South Africa Police.

He was seized by Zimbabwean soldiers in civilian clothing at an illegal crossing point on the Limpopo River, the boundary between South Africa and Zimbabwe.

SADF officials said at the weekend that Corporal Mutasa, one of 17 former Zimbabweans who have been given South African status and who are serving as full-time soldiers in the SADF in the Northern Transvaal, had crossed to South Africa in 1980 when Mr Robert Mugabe's Zanu-PF party was swept to power.

The South Africans maintain that Corporal Mutasa was seized on the South African side of the Limpopo River while conducting special duties to combat the entry of

illegal immigrants from Zimbabwe into South Africa.

Zimbabwe Government authorities have blamed Zimbabwean vigilantes for last week's abduction, but SADF authorities said yesterday they were convinced that the men who seized Corporal Mutasa were members of the Zimbabwean Army.

Brigadier Minnaar Fourie, Chief of Staff, Northern Transvaal Command, said this was partly because of the arms the men had been carrying and also because they drove Cpl Mutasa straight to Beit Bridge after forcing him across the border.

There has been evidence of a build-up of tension along the South African-Zimbabwean border since the SADF staged manoeuvres in the area in recent weeks.

An exercise was held in the Eastern Transvaal during October.

A second exercise was held during late November.

"We used diplomatic channels to inform the Zimbabwean authorities of our intentions, as we always do before exercises of this nature," Brig Fourie said.

The Zimbabwean Army had responded by increasing its presence in the Beit Bridge area to more than 400 men.

## HUNDREDS OF LEGAL RESIDENTS OF CROSSROADS LEFT HOMELESS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Dec 82 p 12

[Text]

### CAPE TOWN. —

Hundreds of legal residents at Crossroads were left homeless on Wednesday when Western Cape Administration Board officials moved in and demolished their shacks.

A group of children sang and danced and some people sat on their beds in the middle of the rubble while their building materials were loaded on to WCAB trucks and carted away.

Spokesmen for the Crossroads Committee and the WCAB have confirmed that the people left homeless were all legal Crossroads residents.

The people said they had been left behind in Old Crossroads when the owners of the houses in which they were lodging moved to New Crossroads.

The WCAB spokesmen said the tenants had been told they should build extensions onto existing numbered huts "but no-

one availed themselves of the opportunity".

Mrs Regina Ntonga of Crossroads Committee and have nowhere to go," she said.

Mr Ken Andrew, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Black Affairs in the Western Cape, said demolishing shacks made no contribution to solving the critical shortage of housing or the gross overcrowding of said the owners of the numbered shacks were already too cramped and were not prepared to accept extensions to their shacks.

"The committee will try its best to find accommodation for these people, but in the meanwhile they are homeless existing houses in both New and Old Crossroads.

He said the "merciless persecution" of Blacks in the Western Cape continued unabated. The Government professed to favour reform while the "bully boys" of the WCAB did its dirty work.

## NUM REJECT CHAMBER OF MINES UNION RECOGNITION CRITERIA

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 7 Dec 82 p 2

[Article by Steven Friedman]

[Text]

**THE** Chamber of Mines' criteria for recognising unions has been rejected by the recently formed National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

The decision could herald conflict between the union and the chamber.

The union has called on the chamber to re-negotiate these criteria with it "and not to dictate its terms to the union".

And it implies it will begin asking the chamber for recognition on some mines soon.

This is one of several key resolutions adopted by NUM at its inaugural conference in Klerksdorp at the weekend, which was attended by well over 1 500 workers. The 14 000-member union, which belongs to the Council of Unions of SA, yesterday released full details of decisions taken at the meeting.

In a statement it reveals that miners from four Free State mines, and three miners each from the Westonia, Orkney, and Carletonville areas, attended the meeting.

Yesterday the Rand Daily Mail reported that the meeting had rejected Government registration and refused to join an industrial council, had refused to join a new group of mine unions, and had called for the scrapping of job reservation on the mines.

NUM has also decided not to establish links with other mine unions until it has established itself.

The chamber is expected to meet within the next few days to formulate its view on this and other key labour relations issues facing the mines.

According to NUM the chamber has decided unions will gain recognition based on the number of members they have in a particular job category and will be recognised for categories where they have a large membership only.

The union says conflict could arise if it is able to bargain for one section of the workforce on a particular mine but not for other union members.

In its resolution it says the "mining bosses" should recognise representative unions in order to "maintain industrial peace".

It says it is "convinced that it is representative on a number of mines and therefore has a right to represent its members".

NUM says it believes recognition criteria "set by the chamber along job categories is designed to divide the workers and weaken the representativeness of the union" and that the criteria are "a recipe for industrial conflict".

It calls on the chamber to re-negotiate the guidelines and instructs its national executive committee to begin these negotiations with the chamber.

## Mine Managements Warned

**THE** National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) has accused mine managements of "victimising and intimidating workers who are joining our union" and warned it will take action against them.

It also accused some mine employers of "blatantly unfair labour practices".

These charges are contained in resolutions adopted by the NUM at its inaugural conference at the weekend.

About two months ago the Chamber of Mines granted

the NUM access to mine property to recruit workers. But it was left to individual concerns to decide what facilities they would grant.

NUM leaders claim that, in some groups which have given it the go-ahead to recruit freely, various hostel managers are nevertheless taking a tough line with the union.

The union "notes with concern" that "mine managements are interfering in the organising of our union" and are "victimising" members.

It condemns those managements and vows it will

"institute action" against them.

NUM says in another resolution that "unfair labour practices" on the mines are "a serious threat to industrial peace" and vows to "relentlessly fight those bosses who commit (them) until workers are treated with respect".

In a resolution on the new confederation of mine unions and associations, which it has decided against joining, NUM calls on all those mine unions "who believe in non-racial collective bargaining to resign" from it.

## HUGE EXPANSION FOR LEADING STEEL COMPANY PLANNED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 28 Nov 82 p 6

[Article by Julian Kraft]

[Text]

**IN apparent contradiction of the slowdown in the steel industry, Baldwins Steel, the country's leading processor of flat-rolled steel products, this year embarked on a major expansion programme involving a total investment running to eight figures.**

The company has set up production operations at Rosslyn, Pretoria, and in Port Elizabeth, chiefly to meet the demand from the car manufacturers based at these two centres.

Its investment in major new plant accounts for R8-million of the total, while the remainder was spent on upgrading, auxiliary plant and building extensions.

Andrew Embleton, general manager, said the company, a member of the Stewarts and Lloyds group, had pressed ahead with its expansion plans in spite of the economic downturn.

"We have been capacity-loaded until now, and, although we recognised that the market would dip, the need to cater to the demand when the

recession was over was a more important consideration," he said.

"We expect to have spare capacity while the recession lasts, but at the same time we do not think we will feel the pinch as badly as the primary steel producers.

"Manufacturers who normally use the direct channels of supply tend during a recession to make use of stockholders such as ourselves as they do not want to tie up too much capital in large inventories.

"Consequently, although the cake is diminished in size, overall we expect to get a larger share of it than in normal circumstances."

Major plant brought into operation this year:

- The first cut-to-length line in the country in a service centre for production of steel plate up to 13,5mm thick, heralding Baldwins' entry into a new previously inaccessible portion of the market. Previously the maximum thickness attainable was 6mm.

"This offers greater flexibility for manufacturers who have been dependent on the primary producers, where long lead times are involved," said Mr Embleton.

"We offer a 24-hour service and the additional facility of

a cut-to-length service." The machine, at the company's Brakpan plant, began production in September.

- A standard 3mm-maximum cut-to-length line at the new Rosslyn plant, which goes on stream this week.

- A standard cut-to-length line at Port Elizabeth, which went into production in July.

- A new slitter at the Vanderbijlpark plant, thus trebling slitting capacity.

"We have tended to have backlogs on our slitting which this will rectify. The new machine, which went into operation this month, also caters for longer runs, bigger coils and a better finished product than our other machines," Mr Embleton said.

Other improvements effected this year include a specially designed inspection and stacking installation at Brakpan, and transference of the Durban branch from Maydon Wharf to new premises at the factory site in Prospecton.

"With the additional plant installed this year we now offer our service on a truly national basis and we are well placed to service large contracts, as our back-up facilities are more than adequate," Mr Embleton concluded.

CSO: 3400/4400

## ANGER EXPRESSED OVER SA'S LOW PRODUCTIVITY

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 28 Nov 82 p 16

[Article by Vera Beljakova]

[Text]

**TWO major companies — Atlantis Diesel Engines and Nampak — have lashed out at South Africa's abysmally low productivity.**

If South Africa does not pull up its socks and rapidly improve its industrial and agricultural productivity, it will soon no longer be able to compete on the world's markets.

This message was rammed home by ADE's managing director, Mr H H Beckhurst, who is disappointed by the apparent lack of interest shown by fellow industrialists in the field of training.

The R600 000 Atlantis Institute, which was built to accommodate 120 trainees for day or evening classes, has facilities to cover a wide variety of subjects and skills — mathematics, applied science, technical drawing, trade theory, typing and sec-

retarial work.

Despite being situated close to the industrial area, it has not attracted non-ADE trainees.

Mr Beckhurst slammed the poor reaction shown by local firms towards training.

"The institute was established for the coloureds' direct benefit and hence the indirect benefit of surrounding industries.

"Yet the centre, equipped with the latest training aids, has not attracted students.

"From the 70 local industries we have gained only one non-ADE trainee who has been delegated to participate in a course," says Mr Beckhurst.

"I find this apathy incomprehensible. The Government is often criticised for lack of guidance and initiative, but in this case it is clearly the private sector that has failed to pick up the ball and run with it.

"Only by mobilising the

available — though dormant — reservoir of labour, by developing natural skills, by instilling a sense of pride and responsibility for one's job will South Africa succeed in building a stable future economy." Meanwhile, ADE and its supporting industries are continuing their dynamic expansion:

● Ferrovorm Group has established a 10 000t-a-year grey iron foundry, South Africa's biggest and most technically advanced plant of its kind.

● Dorbyl Group is putting up a 7 500t screwpress forging plant for crankshafts and connecting rods. When it comes on stream in 1984, it will be South Africa's biggest forging plant.

● A new 1 000t-a-year aluminium foundry is planned for 1983 plus a machining facility to supply light metal components for producing engines.

## ...And Nampak Joins in the Attack

IN unison with Atlantis Diesel Engines, Nampak decries the dismal state of South Africa's productivity.

"I must signal a warning note," says Bas Kardol, executive chairman of the Nampak packaging group.

"The rationale of increasing salaries without corresponding increases in productivity should be questioned."

South Africa's productivity — for both black and white —

compares unfavourably with that of Europe, Japan and the US.

"Employees here are used to receiving salary increments at least in line with increases in the consumer price index.

"As this practice is distinctly inflationary and ignores changes in exchange rates, it must reduce the country's competitiveness in international markets."

This productivity gap, above all, represents a seri-

ous challenge to management and hence remains an important task for the future, according to Mr Kardol, whose annual group turnover leapt from R459-million to R602-million this year — including the turnover of companies acquired during the year.

On the fifo accounting basis, operating profits increased by 20% from R83-million to R100-million, while income after tax on the same basis jumped by 18% to R60-million.



## ANALYSTS BAFFLED BY RECORD SHARE PRICES

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 28 Nov 82 p 4

[Article by Elizabeth Rouse]

[Text] **SHARE** analysts are baffled by the fact that the stock market is screaming recovery — yet the economy is still wallowing in deep recession.

The industrial index hit a record high this week, while a strong gold sector suggested a surge in the gold price. Even De Beers staged a recovery.

Institutions, with their massive cache of captive cash, appeared to be back in the market in strength, causing sharp rises in market leaders.

Like markets overseas, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange is anticipating an early recovery in the US economy, with a resultant rise in the inflation rate, a follow-through by other countries and, most important, falling interest rates.

Restocking of inventories, which have been at low levels for a few years, will mean a lift in South Africa's metal and mineral exports. Rising inflation will augur well for gold.

However, overseas analysts have begun to caution investors about the "too strong, too swift" rise in UK and US equities on rocky fundamentals.

Similarly, some Johannesburg brokers caution investors that gold shares are outperforming the metal.

If gold declines below \$400, disappointment might trigger off a sell-out of gold equities.

A technical factor which brought institutions into the equity market this week has been the narrowing of the reverse yield gap between money market rates and dividend yields.

Institutions have been "moderate" buyers of equities after the sharp fall in the market

in March. Peter Bieber, Old Mutual's general manager, investments, said in the society's pensions services annual report this week.

Brokers confirmed this week that institutions were becoming more aggressive buyers of market leaders.

The only problem was that dealers were unable to find

stock to satisfy big parcel demand.

Share yields are looking attractive in spite of possible dividend cuts in the next six months if South Africa's interest rates decline as quickly as they did in the US, the UK and Europe.

The prediction by Nedbank chief executive Rob Abrahamson that the prime rate will be down at 14% by the end of 1983 might well be correct.

The JSE Actuaries overall market index was up 7,5% at 733,2 on Thursday from around 682 a year ago.

The RDM 100 Industrial index rose to 714,2 on Thursday, up on the record 711,7 level set in early January this year.

The JSE Actuaries Industrial index at 669,5 was at a peak for 1982 but 1,6% below its 680,4 level a year ago.

Gold shares recorded relatively sharper advances on Thursday than the rise in the gold price warranted. At 646,2 the JSE All Gold index was showing a 25% increase on the 530 level a year ago, when the gold price ranged around \$400-\$430.

Glamour sectors have been banks and property, indicating faith in performance of banks and hopes of a strong property market.

The Banks & Others index has advanced almost 50% to 923 from 611 a year ago. The JSE Actuaries Property index was up 27,4% to 189,3 on Thursday from 147,6 a year ago.

Industrial holdings have not recovered fully from the shakeout in March. The index has come off 14,5% to 880 from the November 1981 level of 1 028,6.

PFP LEADER CRITICIZES NEW GOVERNMENT PAPER FOR COLOREDS

MB190948 Johannesburg SUNDAY EXPRESS in English 19 Dec 82 p 3

[Article by Jean Le May]

[Excerpts] The leader of the opposition, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, has declared that he is prepared to defy the law by putting his party's views on constitutional reform directly to the coloureds.

This, he said, could be a contravention of the improper political interference act, which forbids different race groups from intervening in each other's political affairs.

But, "if Mr Chris Heunis can do it, so can I," Dr Slabbert told the SUNDAY EXPRESS.

Dr Slabbert was reacting to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Information's publication this week of a new newspaper aimed at coloureds in the western Cape.

The eight-page newspaper, called THE CARET, contains local news items about sports, schools, property development, consumer affairs and comics. There are also three pages promoting the government's constitutional proposals.

It will cost taxpayers at least R50,000 a year.

"It has been my constant complaint that the government uses taxpayers' money to put forward blatant party political propaganda about the constitutional proposals," said Dr Slabbert.

"Until now I have studiously refrained from trying to influence coloured and Indian reaction to the issue.

"But ever since the proposals were accepted by the National Party Congresses, the government feels free to use radio, television and the department of information to put across its viewpoint, although this could be seen as a contravention of the improper political interference act.

"It has done so to the extent that I now see no reason why the PFP should not enter the arena of coloured and Indian politics to put its viewpoint to these groups.

"I am seriously considering doing so--certainly after the government has tabled its final proposals in parliament when we will all know what we are talking about, and possibly even before, depending on developments.

"At the moment it is not clear what is negotiable about the government's proposals and what is not.

"But they appear to be presenting their guidelines to the coloured people as the final non-negotiable deal."

THE CARET is published by the Cape Town regional office of the Department of Information as a monthly newspaper for coloureds. It is edited by Mr Richard Davis, a senior official of the department.

The use of taxpayers' money to found the citizen (since taken over by Perskor) to promote a pro-government line among English speaking white voters was one of the many scandals which led to the dissolution of the former department.

Dr Eggers Mulder, regional director of the Department of Information in the Cape, told the SUNDAY EXPRESS that R50,000 had been budgeted for publication of THE CARET this year.

The free newspaper had an initial print order of 40,000 copies, he said.

Dr Eggers Mulder denied THE CARET had been established to counteract the influence of the English-language press and of the newsletter grassroots, which is published by coloured civic communities in the Cape and which has been extremely critical of the constitutional proposals.

"People are always coming to us for information about the proposals," he said.

CSO: 3400/484

# MWU PLANS UNITED WHITE FRONT

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 3 Dec 82 p 2

[Article by Steven Friedman]

[Text]

THE Rightwing Mine Workers' Union is to launch a long-planned campaign to recruit white metal workers on a large scale as part of its plan to "organise all white workers into one union".

If it succeeds, the strength of opposition to labour reform could grow.

This follows the announcement by the MWU yesterday that the Department of Manpower has, after a three-year delay, agreed to extend its registration to give it official bargaining rights at Iscor's Vanderbijlpark works.

It now plans to recruit white metal workers at both Iscor and private firms in Vanderbijl, Pretoria, Witbank and eventually Newcastle and says many white workers who belong to rival unions have already applied to join it.

The MWU applied for this extension in January, 1980 but all the unions who represent white workers at Iscor and whose members the MWU is seeking to recruit objected and may now react angrily to the extension.

Some four years ago, the MWU announced it would seek to recruit all white workers.

As other white unions signed agreements with employers opening the way for black job advancement in metal and other industries, it charged that it was the only union prepared to "protect the white worker's real interests".

This move was seen as an

attempt to build a united white worker front against labour reforms, but the planned recruitment of metal workers was held up by the delays in obtaining extended registration to represent them.

MWU general secretary, Mr Arrie Paulus, said yesterday the union's extended registration at Vanderbijl would enable it to "spread its wings".

"This is a great breakthrough which will enable us to recruit as many whites as possible in the hope of forming one union for all white workers," he added.

It now expected a membership of 2 000-3 000 at the plant. It would open an office in Vanderbijl and seek to recruit workers from other metal plants there.

Mr Paulus said the union now planned to also seek extended registration for Iscor's Pretoria works where, he said, it had already had 700 applications. It would also open a Pretoria office.

The MWU, he said, planned to tackle areas "one at a time" but also planned to recruit later in Witbank and Newcastle.

Mr Paulus said some of the workers who had joined were artisans, but many are believed to belong to the SA Iron, Steel and Allied Workers Union which, like the MWU, belongs to the all-white Confederation of Labour.

He said he did not believe this would hamper relations between the two unions.

FUTURE DEPENDS ON WHITE-BLACK INTERDEPENDENCE

MB141420 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 14 Dec 82

[Station commentary: "Securing the Future"]

[Text] By coincidence the news has been dominated during the past week by events that concern the opposite poles--the extreme right and left--of the South African political spectrum. It was ironic but appropriate, since it doubled the effect of the point they made: That is, that the future of this country, the security of its widely diverse peoples, would be determined by the overwhelming majority who are committed to stability in a dispensation that does justice to all.

The extremes are disqualified by definition. Between the extreme right and left in South African politics there is, as there has been in every society in which the two have existed together, a marriage of minds on parts of departure. They are at one in their meanness of spirit and comprehension, justifying their existence in the blatant advancement of their sectional interests through the suppression of others. They are equally incapable of dealing with the complexities of our society. Being unable to acknowledge the legitimate aspirations of groups other than those they claim to represent, they are equally unequipped for negotiating fairly on the realization of such aspirations.

Thus, neither has anything to offer South Africa in building a secure future. What they do offer--a society racked by the bitterness borne of rights denied and the abiding insecurity that is the by-product of privilege unearned--is the certainty of unending conflict. Theirs is a counsel of despair based in the frustration of the self-seeker. But South Africa's future will be decided by the logic of its complex situation and the determination of the people to deal with it. It will be built on the knowledge that for a society's institutions to endure, they must be the product of agreement on commonly accepted premises.

There is broad consensus in the country today on what those premises are: A peaceful dispensation, community security and political structures for accommodating economic interdependence. They are endorsed throughout the racial spectrum as the fundamental criteria to be met in the evolving order. They have been determined by the irrefutable sociological and economic facts, in

particular by the two essential characteristics of the South African situation. One is that this is a country of minority communities, white and black, jealous of their cultural values and institutions. The other is that the fate of any of them depends on the fate of all--their interdependence. Taken together, they constitute the central issue in national affairs, today and as far ahead as can be foreseen.

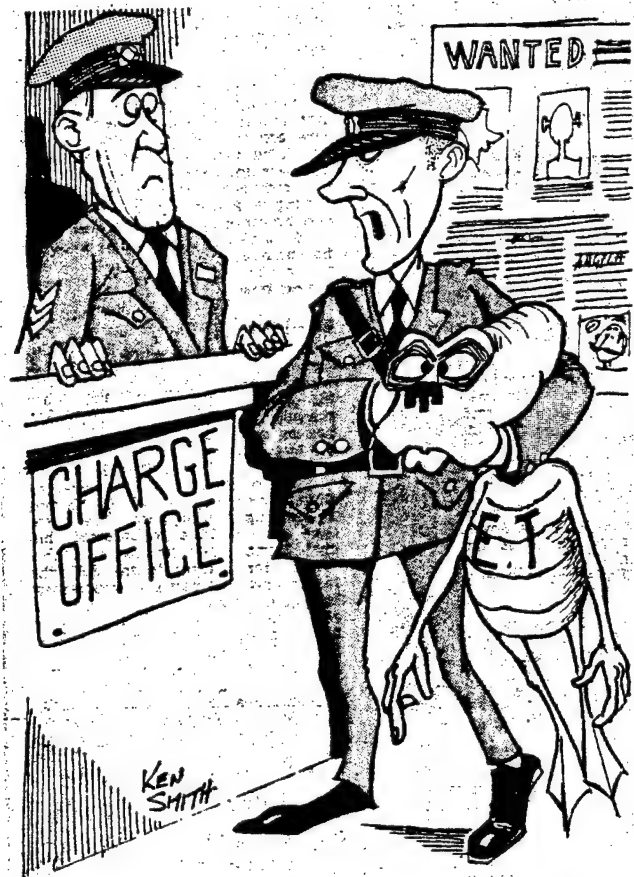
A policy that denies the forces of either community's self-determination or economic interdependence is a recipe for disaster. Ignoring those forces would unleash such elemental and enduring hostilities that any future scenario becomes a pipedream. All that is at issue is how they must best be accommodated in the striving to build together the secure and just society that is the ultimate goal.

CSO: 3400/455

CARTOON DERIDES PASS LAWS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 27 Nov 82 p 6

[Text] "I caught the little sod in a white area without a pass...."



CSO: 3400/440

## BRIEFS

TAIPEI APPROVES ACCORDS--TAIPEI--THE executive Yuan (Cabinet) yesterday approved the minutes of the Fifth Republic of China-Republic of South Africa economic technical co-operation meeting. The minutes, submitted by the Economic Ministry, stress that the Chinese and South African Governments will enhance co-operation in the trade, communications, agricultural, mining and technological areas. The meeting was held in South Africa from November 11 to 16. During the meeting, participants reviewed earlier resolutions and the executive results of various economic and technological co-operation programmes. They also exchanged views on how such co-operation could be expanded and what new programmes would be covered. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Dec 82 p 19]

FIRST B MIL FOR INDIAN--STELLENBOSCH--A degree in military science, B Mil at the University of Stellenbosch will be awarded to an Indian student for the first time today. Yegan Moodley (23), a lieutenant in the navy is one of the 41 students at the Military Academy at Saldanha Bay, who are to receive their degrees today. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Dec 82 p 13]

VORSTER QUILTS MATIES--CAPE TOWN--The former Prime Minister and State President, Mr B J Vorster resigned as Chancellor of Stellenbosch University yesterday morning. His resignation came at the university's graduation ceremony at which he officiated. Mr Vorster, who is living in retirement in Port Elizabeth, holds no further public offices. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Dec 82 p 13]

NO APPEAL FOR HOGAN--BLOEMFONTEIN--The Appeal Court has refused the application of Barbara Anne Hogan for leave to appeal against her conviction and sentence of 10 years imprisonment for treason. She was convicted in the Rand Supreme Court by Mr Justice H P van Dyk on October 20. The judge found that the State had proved beyond a reasonable doubt that Hogan, by joining the African National Congress and by committing various acts in furtherance of the aims and objects of the ANC, had done so with the intention of assisting the ANC to achieve its ultimate aim--the overthrow of the State. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Dec 82 p 12]

SECURITY COURSE--A TOTAL of 149 candidates have successfully completed the first South African management course in security run by the Institute for Criminology at the University of South Africa, the university announced in



Pretoria last night. The one-year course is acknowledged as the highest security qualification in the country. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Dec 82 p 9]

ANTI-BUS BOYCOTT LEAFLETS--DURBAN--Many Black leaders in Natal have condemned new methods being used by Durban Corporation to break the bus boycott, now into its second week, along the routes from Clermont, Klaarwater and Lamontville. In the past two days the corporation has hired an aircraft which has been dropping leaflets calling on residents to use the buses and pointing out that it is far more expensive to use taxis. The leaflets also repeat that Durban's Transport Management Board is not a profit-making organisation, and that the service is run solely for the benefit of commuters. A spokesman for the office of the head of the KwaZulu nation, Chief Gatsha buthelezi, said from Ulindi yesterday that it seemed the corporation was spending "a ridiculous amount of money". Mr Aubrey Nyembezi, chairman of the Clermont Advisory Board, also slammed the leaflet-dropping programme. He said the Transport Management Board had spent a great deal of money on printing thousands of pamphlets. He said the money could have been spent on reducing the fares increase that caused the boycott. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Dec 82 p 11]

CISKEI'S 'BOOK OF LIFE'--ZWELITSHA--Ciskei is now in a position to issue its own identity documents, the Minister of Internal Affairs and Land Tenure, Mr L B Williams, said in Zwelitsha yesterday. Mr Williams said Ciskeians no longer had to be burdened with the "dompas" issued by the Republic of South Africa. Ciskei documents would contain all the personal particulars of the holders, such as birth, marriage, firearm and motor vehicle driver's licences, and voting particulars. "No endorsements of any kind are permitted on the identity documents regarding employment or urban qualifications." [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Dec 82 p 4]

CISKEI APPOINTMENTS--ZWELITSHA--Two young men have been appointed to high positions in the Ciskei Government. Mr Vusani Masani, (39), has been appointed Deputy Minister for Agriculture, and Mr M Tambuza, Director-General of Agriculture. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Dec 82 p 4]

GERMAN INVESTMENTS--DEUTZ Diselpower, the South African arm of Klockner Humboldt Deutz of Germany, plans to invest a further R10-million in its Maritzburg plant as part of a programme to increase the local content of its air-cooled diesel engines to more than 70%. Bodo Liebe, chairman of Klockner, who is visiting this country to discuss the additional investment with the Government, told Business Times that it was not the intention to increase the capacity of the plant, which is currently 4 000 units a month, but rather to raise the local content of the engines. Deutz Dieselpower is 70% owned by Hudaco Industries, with the balance owned by the German parent, and is the only diesel-engine manufacturer other than ADE to be granted Government blessing for a manufacturing programme. The company produces engines from 2Kw to 400Kw with a local content of 50%. The bulk of the units are fitted to the Deutz range of tractors, and the rest are used by general industry. [Text] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 28 Nov 82 p 7]

FOREIGN EXCHANGE LOSS--SOUTH Africa is losing upwards of R100-million a year in foreign exchange because of the unwarranted and exorbitant fees levied by some of the country's forward agents. This is the contention of Richard Goodman, managing director of Marketing Traffic Management (MTM), a firm which offers its services to importing companies with the express intention of preventing such exploitation. Mr Goodman claims that over the past nine months his organisation has been instrumental in recovering more than R1-million for his clients in terms of overpayments made to forwarders, who, says Mr Goodman, more often than not remit their fees to holding companies abroad. He contends that, because of the nebulous nature of the forwarding business (the importing companies are seldom familiar with the make-up of the costs of bringing their goods into South Africa), few importers are aware of the extent to which they are being "ripped off" by certain forwarding agents. Mr Goodman has put together a high-powered team, many of whom have worked with forwarding companies and who are therefore familiar with the manner in which forwarding charges are compiled. His company also has an affiliate in the United States, which assists MTM in tracing the fees levied on the passage of goods through the US on their way to South Africa. He also retains foreign-exchange experts, "since it frequently happens that over-charges are disguised by the forwarding company explaining exorbitant fees away via exchange rate fluctuations". MRM is currently completing an agreement for signature by the forwarder and the importing company in order, says Mr Goodman, to place the liability where it belongs". He comments: "At present, the vast majority of agreements between forwarders and importers are so one-sided in favour of the forwarder as to be laughable. [Text] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 28 Nov 82 p 7]

HELICOPTER OPERATORS MERGE--SOUTH Africa's two largest commercial helicopter operators, Court and Republic, have pooled resources and are operating nationally under the name Court Republic Helicopters. "Our combined operations represent nearly 90% of commercial helicopter operations in South Africa--from ship-servicing from Cape Town and Durban to inland geological-survey work and radio broadcasting," says joint chief executive Vin van Buuren. The tie-up, he says, will create a countrywide service operating from Johannesburg, Durban, Mossel Bay, Richards Bay and Cape Town. The combined resources include 20 helicopters, 29 pilots and 33 support and administrative staff. Shareholders include Murray & Roberts and a syndicate formed by the Van Zyl family for Court, while the Republic interests are held by the Nash family from Johannesburg. [Text] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 28 Nov 82 p 16]

RENAULT SA SALES--THE newly formed Renault Africa is bucking national car sales trends with higher sales figures. Despite overall new-car sales in October dropping by 8,5% from the previous month, Renault's total vehicle sales showed an increase of 6%. "Renault's positive trend against the general downtrend in the car market augurs well for our new company, now committed to a local investment programme of R42-million over the next two or three years," says marketing director Mossie Mostert. Renault's 604 unit sales gives the company a 3% market share. Mr Mostert is confident that sales will increase significantly in the months to come for three good reasons. Mr Mostert says these are: continued strengthening of Renault's

national dealer network, increased competitiveness once the all-new Renault-9 (which has proved to be highly successful in Europe) is launched by mid-1983, as well as the general attractiveness of the Renault 5 package with its proved fuel efficiency in the light of tightening economic conditions. The Renault 5 has proved to be a consistent performer on the South African sales charts this year. Sales reached a peak of 802 units in February, declining to 574 units in May, picking up to 640 units in July and staying above the 600 mark since. Mr Mostert says: "While Renault is doing well, we must keep our perspective on the whole of the South African motor industry." [Text] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 5 Dec 82 p 22]

LP GAS INDUSTRY--THE battle for supremacy in the R30-million-a-year geyser industry is intensifying. Jostling for a winning position is the multinational group Van Leer, with a worldwide turnover of R1 000-million and South African sales worth R90-million. Van Leer has emphasised that it is going for a major share of this underdeveloped market. "We are looking for a wider base in the building industry than our present R4,5-million from bathroomware and solar heaters," admits VL general manager (building products division) David Baker. "At present, 95% of all geysers in South Africa are manufactured by one company--Kwikot--giving it a virtual monopoly. While several other companies have been eyeing this market for some time, we are taking the plunge with a R2,5-million investment in new plant, equipment and some interesting new concepts." Van Leer hopes to score by producing cheaper geysers using existing know-how and technology from its LP gas cylinder plant. Already 500 000 units are being tested in some of the worst water conditions in South Africa--so far satisfactorily. Three new patents have already been taken out by VL. [Text] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 5 Dec 82 p 22]

ISRAELI FILTER COMPANY--A CONSORTIUM to manufacture filters for the local motor industry has been formed between two South African companies and an Israeli filter company. The consortium, which will establish a plant next year close to one of the motor assembly centres, will reduce the industry's present reliance on imported filters. The three partners are Kaapvaal Industries, which has the majority shareholding of 51%, HAC Technologies, a newly formed local company, and A L Filter of Israel, which will provide the technological expertise. HAC Technologies and A L Filter are equal shareholders in the remaining 49%. The factory will be established at a cost of about R4-million and the consortium, yet to be named, plans to be in production by 1984, when it hopes to capture about 10% of the local market for oil, air and fuel filters, which is estimated to be worth about R50-million a year. [Text] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 5 Dec 82 p 5]

SAAAU LEGAL ACTION--The South African Amateur Athletics Union (SAAAU) is taking legal action to have itself reinstated to the International Amateur Athletics Federation, which expelled it in 1976. The union has asked Johannesburg City Council to help with legal costs, expected to be about R 50 000. "There is an indication that the case will be heard in a British court within the following months," SAAAU president Professor C F Nieuwoudt told the city council. He claimed that South Africa's expulsion from the international

group was illegal in terms of its own rules. "Despite the SAAAU's efforts to bring about a change in athletics and to normalise the sport, all efforts to regain membership were fruitless," he said. "The IAAF even turned down a request to send a fact-finding mission to South Africa to investigate matters here." In athletics all South Africans competed on merit, he said. According to any norm the country should be reinstated to full membership. The SAAAU is asking the city council for a grant of R1000 towards legal fees. The council's management committee was told this week that the union had reserves of nearly R200 000 and made a R110 000 profit last year. Its running expenses were R157 000. [Text] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 28 Nov 82 p 68]

CIVIL ENGINEERING LABOR DEAL--FOR the first time, all 125 000 workers in the civil engineering industry throughout the country--except black "homelands"--are protected by a wage order which lays down legally-binding standards for their work conditions. And labourers in the "white" rural areas, who have never before been covered by minimum wage regulations, enjoy this protection for the first time. They now cannot be paid less than 55c an hour. This follows a Government wage order which extends standards covering hours of work, overtime, sick pay and other conditions for civil engineering workers in most "white" areas to several rural areas for the first time. The order was introduced at the request of the industry's employer association, the SA Federation of Civil Engineering Contractors (Safcec). In a statement, Safcec welcomed the order and said it meant that "the industry is ahead of many others where industrial council agreements or other wage measures apply only in certain areas and by far the greater part of the country is not covered." Its director, Mr Kees Lagaay, said yesterday it was difficult to estimate how many workers would enjoy statutory protection for the first time as a result of the order but suggested it could be in the region of 25%. Safcec concedes the 55c minimum pay for labourers--who are the only workers in the rural areas covered by the new order who now enjoy minimum wage protection-- was "moderate". But Mr Lagaay said it was the industry's practice to introduce low minimum rates in areas where wage orders had just been introduced and then to start raising minimum pay. He said some employers in these areas already paid more than the minimum, but some did pay less. In the four main industrial areas--the Witwatersrand, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban--the minimum rate for labourers is R1,01 an hour. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 2 Dec 82 p 2]

UIF MONEY RESTRICTION--THE Government's plan to use R2-million of Unemployment Insurance Fund money to help motor workers who do not want to take part in strikes, which sparked a major row earlier this year, may never be implemented. This emerged from a telephone interview with the Director-General of Manpower, Dr Piet van der Merwe, yesterday, in which he said the money would be used "only if a similar situation to this year's Eastern Cape motor industry strikes arises again". And even then, he said, the authorities would only use the money if they failed in attempts to have non-strikers placed in jobs. After the scheme was announced, official sources said the Department of Manpower was expected to begin devising rules for implementing the scheme. But Dr Van der Merwe said yesterday no rules would be devised. The Minister of Manpower, Mr Fanie Botha, announced earlier this year that the Unemployment Insurance Board had decided to set aside R2-million for motor workers

who wanted to work but could not because other workers were on strike. This followed a two-week strike in the Eastern Cape by at least 10 000 black and coloured members of Fosatu's National Automobile and Allied Workers Union. During the strike, the Iron, Steel and Allied Workers' Union, the biggest union in the all-white Confederation of Labour, claimed many of its members were forced to live on charity because the strike had closed motor plants. It asked that UIF money be allocated to its members to help tide them over, a request which led to Mr Botha's announcement. The plan was attacked by unionists and by Eastern Cape motor employers, who said it would be impossible for them to distinguish between workers who wanted to strike and those who did not. They said they would refuse to attempt this. Dr Van der Merwe said yesterday the R2-million was still available if needed. But he said the plan was devised to "meet a specific situation" and would only be implemented if this arose again. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 30 Nov 82 p 3]

UNITA LINK--Windhoek--The Rundu businessman who was one of three people in a light aircraft shot down in Botswana at the weekend, Mr Jose Lopes Francisco, has trade links with Dr Jonas Savimbi's Angolan guerrilla movement, UNITA. Mr Francisco--known in Namibia as "Mr Lopes"--represents Johannesburg--based company, Frama Intertrading which buys Angolan teak from UNITA and trucks it to South Africa at a price which helps Dr Savimbi wage war against the MPLA government. "Mr Lopes" is also director of a related Namibian company Namibian (PTY) Ltd. The records of this company are kept confidential in the Windhoek registry--by order of the administration-general in terms of an article in the companies act, according to the registrar of companies, Mr D. J. Strauss. For more than two years huge teak logs from the forests of Angola's timber-rich Cuandao-Cubango region in the south-east have found their way to the South African market through the Frama conduit. In this way Frama has--either consciously or unconsciously--acted as UNITA's commercial wing in southern Africa. Attempts to discuss the matter with the Frama directors--one is believed to be Mr Arlindo Manuel Maja--have proved fruitless. But, recently, Dr Savimbi admitted he was sending ivory, diamonds, and timber to South Africa. It is still not known what "Mr Lopes," the pilot, Mr Hennie Van Rensburg, and a third occupant, Mr Mike Bartlett, were doing in northern Botswana. [Peter Honey] [Excerpt] [MB180954 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 17 Dec 82 p 23]

MASERU FLIGHT CANCELED--Another South African Airways [SAA] flight to the Lesotho capital has been cancelled. The flight from Jan Smuts Airport to Maseru has been diverted to Bloemfontein. A Lesotho Airways representative says SAA explained the cancellation was due to operational problems, but observers in Maseru believe the move is part of a punitive campaign the South African Government appears to be conducting. They say this follows the Lesotho Government's decision to continue to welcome ANC exiles in Lesotho. This is the third time since the 9 December South African defense force raid on Maseru that the SAA flights have been cancelled. [Text] [MB201621 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1200 GMT 20 Dec 82]

SADF ACTIONS--The chief minister of Kwazulu, chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has complained to the Kwazulu commissioner-general, Mr P. N. Hansmeyer, about alleged activities of South African defense force soldiers in the Ingwavuma area. This follows complaints that armed members of the defense force have been visiting villages in the eastern part of the Ingwavuma magisterial district and interrogating

people about their membership of the Inkhata movement. Chief Buthelezi said he could not understand the motivation behind such action, which he considered to be very provocative. In his letter to the commissioner-general, Chief Buthelezi said that unless his government obtained a satisfactory reply from the SADF, it might be forced to withdraw its representation on the Rumpff Commission of inquiry into the Ingwavuma land deal. A defense force spokesman has confirmed in Pretoria that the complaints have been received, and that the defense force is investigating. [Text] [MB171530 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1115 GMT 17 Dec 82]

ANC DEFECTOR KILLING CONDEMNED--The South African Council of Churches [SACC] has condemned the killing of ANC defector, Bartholomew Hlapane. In a statement today, General Secretary Desmond Tutu says the SACC has consistently expressed its opposition to all forms of violence and also its abhorrence of detention without trial. In his words, the SACC calls for the removal of the unjust conditions which are the result of apartheid, which makes such horrible deeds possible. The statement also urges Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange to charge or release detained members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging. [Text] [MB201609 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1200 GMT 20 Dec 82]

SQUATTERS' LEGAL STATUS QUESTIONED--The government has been urged to act on the Crossroads issue. The Progressive Federal Party spokesperson on black affairs in the Western Cape, Ken Andrew, has sent a telegram to Cooperation and Development Minister Piet Koorinnot. The telegram refers to a number of serious problems which have developed at Crossroads. Andrew has urged the minister to instruct that Crossroads and Nyanga squatters are given a stamp to indicate their current legal status. The rights of the squatters to be in the Western Cape has been under consideration for nearly a year. [Text] [MB141849 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1800 GMT 14 Dec 82]

OIL SUPPLY CUTS ANNOUNCED--The government has announced further cuts in the supply of petrol and diesel, with immediate effects. The government spokesman said arrangements are being introduced as a result of damage to supply tanks in Beira, which occurred on 9 December. The spokesman said the pipeline was not damaged, and therefore the measures [words indistinct] are temporary. He said the Zimbabwe and Mozambican Governments are doing all they can to restore the situation to normal. The public has been asked to cooperate in this exercise. [Text] [MB161822 Harare Domestic Service in English 1745 GMT 16 Dec 82]

CSO: 3400/455



TANZANIA

TANZANIA GOVERNMENT STATEMENT CONDEMNS LESOTHO KILLINGS

EA101848 Dar es Salaam in English to East Central and Southern Africa  
1600 GMT 10 Dec 82

[Test] Dar es Salaam: Tanzania has condemned in the strongest terms the killings in Lesotho yesterday of more than 30 innocent people, including women and children, by the racist regime of South Africa.

A government statement issued in Dar es Salaam today said the latest barbaric, inhuman and unprovoked act of aggression against Lesotho was not only a violation of its sovereignty and territorial integrity, it also demonstrated the apartheid regime's complete contempt and disregard for international law and practice on peaceful coexistence among states.

The statement said the wanton killings of innocent people, the destruction of property, acts of sabotage and economic blackmail were all a continuation of the destabilization campaign being unleashed against the frontline and other states in the region. Tanzania was convinced, said the statement, that the blood the racists were continuing to spill will not be in vain. It will act as a catalyst to motivate the oppressed peoples of southern Africa to close their ranks and redouble their efforts to wage the struggle for their liberation.

Following Pretoria's arrogance, Tanzania has called upon the international community to take appropriate action against the racist regime, including the imposition of mandatory sanctions.

The statement extended Tanzania's heartfelt condolences to the government and people of Lesotho, and particularly to the bereaved families, for their losses.

CSO: 3400/434

ZANZIBAR PRESIDENT URGES MORE EMPHASIS ON DEFENSE

EA132028 Zanzibar Domestic Service in Swahili 1600 GMT 13 Dec 82

[Text] Zanzibar: Chairman of the Revolutionary Council Ndugu Aboud Jumbe has asked the defense and security forces to expand the amount of defense available to protect our country's safety. He made the appeal today when opening a 4-day workshop for the defense and security committees of Zanzibar being held at the party headquarters in Kisiwa Ndui. Ndugu Jumbe said that the purpose behind such an expansion is to increase defense in order to meet the country's needs and to protect the life and property of the people in accordance with the laws of the country.

Ndugu Jumbe, who is also the president of Zanzibar, wants more cooperation between all government and defense institutions so that there can be more thought given to defense matters, bearing in mind the fact that responsibility for the country's defense does not lie solely with the police and the security forces but belongs to all the institutions of the country. He also said that the protection of independence and the integrity of the country is a responsibility related to the institutions of higher learning.

The workshop, which is being attended by 60 participants and is chaired by Minister of State in the Office of the Chairman of the Revolutionary Council, Ndugu (Ramadhani Haji), is to discuss 11 items, including how to structure the defense and security committees of the Tanzanian mainland and islands.

CSO: 3449/12



TANZANIA

TANZANIAN OFFICIAL LEAVES FOR DOHA

GF111030 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0725 GMT 11 Dec 82

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 11 Dec (WAKH)--Tanzanian Foreign Minister Salim Ahmad Salim today left Abu Dhabi for Doha after concluding a 4-day visit to the UAE within a tour he is making to the Gulf.

During the visit, the Tanzanian minister delivered a message from Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere to UAE President Shaykh Zayid ibn Sultan al Nahayyan dealing with bilateral relations and issues of common interest. He also held contacts with a number of officials on reinforcing bilateral relations, the current developments in the Middle East and Afro-Arab cooperation.

The Tanzanian minister was seen off by Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Rashid 'Abdallah.

CSO: 3404/6

MAKERERE UNIVERSITY REPORTED SUFFERING SERIOUS SHORTAGES

Kampala UGANDA TIMES in English 8 Nov 82 p 11

[Article: "Amin's Ghost Still Haunting Makerere College"]

[Text]

**Uganda's Makerere University, which was once the pride of East Africa, is still suffering from the ravages of the eight-year reign of terror of dictator Idi Amin. It is now three years since Amin was overthrown, but the university is still acutely short of teachers, equipment and scholastic materials.**

UGANDA's Makerere University has just reopened for a new academic year, but under increasing difficulties and hardships. These involve shortage of academic staff, equipment and scholastic materials, as well as scarcity of accommodation for students.

Once one of the leading centres of learning in Africa south of the Sahara, Makerere was famous, especially for its faculties of medicine, agriculture and education. Among the many celebrities that went through Makerere are President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania and Vice-President Mwai Kibaki of Kenya. Famous novelist Ngugi wa Thiong'o went through the gates of the same institution.

Started in 1922 as a technical school, Makerere University College started awarding degrees 30 years later, thanks to a special relationship it established with London University.

In the early 1960s, it became part of the then University of East Africa. The other constituent colleges were Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam. And in October 1970, Makerere became a university in its own right.

Although the colleges in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam also became the nuclei of national universities in Kenya and Tanzania respectively, Makerere for sometime still continued to be the darling of scholars in East Africa and beyond. But then came Idi Amin's 8-year military rule, which was to do unfathomable havoc to Uganda's economic, social, and moral fibre.

Naturally, there soon began a swift diaspora of most of the internationally respected scholars from Makerere. Today, nearly 11 years after Amin first came to power, Makerere is still in very poor shape. Student accommodation is perhaps the biggest single

problem. All first and second-year students will, from this academic year, have to find their own accommodation outside the campus because the university cannot lodge them all in halls of residence.

But there are other problems too. As acting Vice-Chancellor A. Ginyera-Pinchwa told the new students on October 7, this is a trying period in the university's history, which calls for patience and restraint on the part of all concerned. For, said Prof. Ginyera-Pinchwa, "cooking is done on charcoal stoves, repairs to halls of residence cannot yet be effected, and water is not running. On the academic front, equipment, chemicals, stationery and text books are either in short supply or will not be available immediately."

What the acting Vice-Chancellor did not add, however, is that there is dire shortage of teaching staff as well. The university has not yet been able to lure back the many international academics it once boasted. At the same time, many Ugandan scholars have, since the mid-1970, left in ever-increasing numbers to find better working conditions abroad.

Two factors have accounted for this brain drain. First, there is the poor state of the economy (inflation runs at well over 1,000 per cent), which has for a long time now made it impossible for salary earners in general in Uganda to make ends meet. Secondly, there is insecurity, which is itself a reflection of the state of semi-anarchy which developed during Amin's time.

This is indeed disheartening, considering that only 10 years ago Uganda had the biggest number of trained indigenous personnel in East and Central Africa. Currently, there is not a single faculty or department at Makerere that has all the staff it requires. The worst-hit, perhaps, are Medicine and Engineering, where post-graduate students have often been called upon to do most of the teaching one year after their graduation.

At one time in the late 70s, only one post-graduate student remained on the staff of the Department of Pharmacology in the faculty of Medicine.

Some notable changes and developments have, however, taken place at Makerere this year. From now onwards, the academic year will start in October and end in June, instead of from July to March.

This has probably been intended to keep the university in tune with similar institutions in Europe and America. And for the first time ever, 10 students have been enrolled on a Bachelor of Dental Surgery programme. Previously, no dental courses were run at degree level at Makerere.

But perhaps the most touching aspect of it all is the determination of the students to learn despite harsh conditions, the determination of the academic and administrative staff to teach and run the institution under such difficult circumstances and the determination of parents to see their children through university in impoverished Uganda. —APS Features

## UGANDA

### BRIEFS

SPECIAL FORCE DEATHS--Kampala, Dec 11 (AFP)--Two members of Uganda's paramilitary 'special force' unit were shot dead on Thursday at Kawempe, on the outskirts of Kampala, it was reported here today. The men were killed in a trading centre. No other details were immediately available. In another incident, reported by the Kampala daily TAIFA EMPYA, police shot three men allegedly found in possession of rifles and ammunition during a police search of Mukubirizi village, in Mukono District east of Kampala. The newspaper did not say when the incident took place, but reported that police opened fire, killing all three men, after one of them drew a gun as the policemen approached. [Text] [AB110907 Paris AFP in English 0848 GMT 11 Dec 82]

CSO: 3400/478

COPPER MINES, RAILWAYS DISCUSSED

Dakar AFRICA in French No 144, Oct 82 pp 65-67

[Article by Christian Charles: "The Copper Route"; Part 1]

[Text] Kolwezi is only a drop point on the maps of the chiefs of staff of the parachutists of the Foreign Legion. But this point makes Zaire the world's sixth largest producer of copper and its largest producer of cobalt. It accounts for 70 percent of the foreign exchange earned by the country with the largest territory and the largest population in central Africa.

If it were only a question of mining the ore, the problem would be technical, social, economic, financial, and relatively simple. But the region's instability makes the export of this wealth across Angola or South Africa very precarious. And the anarchy reigning in the country makes the obligatory use of the discontinuous, underequipped, worn out Zairian national railways a real adventure. Our special reporter, Christian Charles, describes it.

Engineer Mutoke, wearing a helmet, white blouse and black boots, warned me: "Be careful when you get to the site. You could be flattened into a rug."

His advice was not out of place. As soon as one crosses the edge of Kolwezi one is caught up in the mining installations: tunnel mining and strip mining, gigantic steps carved into a soil marbled with stripes of mouse grey, ocher red, pale green and candy pink for kilometers.

Looking down from the ridge of the cirque, the machines look like small models, like toys. Standing in the middle of the arena one realizes that the drivers of the Mack trucks rushing down the slopes are perched 4 meters above the ground, that the tractors could overturn a six-story building, and that the claws of the bulldozers easily scoop out half a truck load of laterite. One cannot really expect the drivers to watch where they put their wheels. They raise clouds of dust with the strong conviction that they are the only ones working in this wretched country.

In fact, almost all of Zaire's copper comes from Kolwezi, flower of Katanga (now rebaptized Shaba, meaning copper in Swahili), about which it has been said is a "geological scandal," its subsurface is so rich in various ores.

#### The Miners of Kolwezi

Whether the year is good or bad, 400,000 tons of copper-bearing rock are given primary treatment on the spot. They are plunged into vats from which heavy red sheets emerge due to the magic of electrolysis; these are delivered as they are or melted into lingots in small foundries like the ones we visited in Lumbumbashi, where a thousand workers exhaust themselves sweating blood and water for the equivalent of 100 CFA Francs per day.

In rags, exhausted from fatigue and hunger, these workers are obsessed by the fear of an accident at work or an incident with the foreman or an anonymous denunciation which would make them lose a monthly salary which enables them to buy a 30 kilo sack of cassava which the whole family will live on. For this, dozens of persons seeking work--even poorer than they--congregate every day in front of the foundry's gates.

Strikes are naturally rare; when they occur they are broken up by armed force. Engineer Mutoke does not talk about these matters. He has been given the assignment of guiding us. He withdraws into his role of technician and makes sure he does not forget any figures. He drives us in a car to the "Club House" of the "Gecamines," a state society derived from the famous Mining Union of Upper Katanga, where we share a canteen meal with skilled expatriate workers from Belgium, France, Italy and Portugal haunted by memories of the events of 1977 and 1978 ("you think they will remember that"), those bloody blows from a population they pity ("one sees miners fall down from starvation, do you realize that?") but with whom they do not mix: the "native" quarter is considered dangerous at night for "pale faces." One is advised not to venture into the barracks with corrugated roofs where the Katangans forget their poverty drinking a local beer made from corn, bitter and acid, while commenting passionately about the day's events.

But the next day, everyone goes to work. And while Kolwezi's production has not yet reached its pre-1978 levels again, experts are optimistic about the 1982 results, which will permit a 10 percent increase over 1981.

"A fine score," murmurs a Frenchman from Longwy who has found his solution to the crisis of the Lorraine steel industry here. A good source; the trouble is that this production is flowing toward the market as though through an eye dropper. It stays here with us. There are not enough trains to remove it.

That day, workers were loading five rusted train platforms under the indifferent gaze of soldiers armed with Chinese rifles who were there to guard the containers of cobalt, many of which have vanished into the arcane world of contraband in recent years.

"Since the army has been guarding it, much less has disappeared," admitted the Frenchman. But the temptation is too great. "Our stocks waiting for transportation represent a year's production."

Without a railroad, said Stanley to Leopold II, the Belgian king who sent him to explore the country, the Congo is not worth a penny.

"We have to leave a lot of our material in the garage for lack of fuel," sighs the manager of operations. Almost half the trains have been taken off. After 5 years, our deficit is doubling every year. The treasury is empty. Scrapped material has not been replaced. Traffic decreased by 44 percent in 1980 with respect to 1974."

While awaiting a return of better days, one must make do with what one has. And that is not much.

And yet the equation is simple: no money, no trains; no trains, no ore shipments; no ore shipments, no money. And in that case, Zaire is not worth a penny.

#### 1,780 Kilometers of Railways

The managing director in charge of operations gasped with disapproval when I told him that we wished to travel along this strategic line from one end to the other. First, he replied, that would be difficult because there is no room on the passenger train, the Rapid, all the more so since the Rapid only runs once a week now, and all the seats have been reserved for at least a month. Finally, it would be no use to travel the 1,780 kilometers of railroad to Ilebo--in 3 days if all goes well--because the big mailboat linking Ilebo to Kinshasa, the capital, had broken down, and, in brief, it would be madness.

We rebutted all of his arguments, including the dire possibility that we might meet "Foreman," "One hundred kilos," "Wabusa" or "Molock," evil-doers famed for the boldness with which they rob travelers, pillage merchandise and harass ladies.

The Rapid really was packed, but we rode on it anyway between Lubumbashi and Likasi, a trip of about 100 kilometers in 4 hours. It was long enough for us to realize we were lucky enough to avoid this trap: the first class carriages are the only ones there are any illusions about. If we had gone in those, we would have traveled under the vigilant protection of the company's security service. The other carriages are not practicable, except for fighting with fists and elbows to then find oneself crammed in, 10 or 12 at a time, in compartments which the late arrivals enter by the windows; unless of course one is agile enough to try one's luck in fourth class, which is quaintly named "Appolo" by the Zairians and is reserved for acrobats who travel between the two stations on the roofs of the carriages.

### Soldier Extortioners

We took refuge in the restaurant car. It was blazing hot. Civilians and soldiers were passing the time drinking large bottles of corn beer.

The soldiers belonged to a motorized unit that was returning to its base near Kinshasa after spending several months in the Shaba operational zone. Most of the troops and material were traveling on a platform train behind us. A few officers and under-officers had arranged to take the Rapid. They were getting drunk. Quietly? One of them approached us uttering threats in lingala that we would have preferred not to understand, but which our neighbor translated for us ("He says you took his picture.... He says he will have you interrogated by the counter-espionage service...").

Apparently there was no cause for panic. It was only a pretext to get us to buy him a drink or give him some money; Zairian soldiers are as badly paid as miners, when they are paid. But they have the advantage over civilians of being able to carry arms. They rob, hold up, take it out on, and victimize their fellow citizens. So, as for foreigners....

9855

CSO: 3419/210



COPPER MINES, RAILWAYS DISCUSSED

Dakar AFRICA in French No 145, Nov 82 pp 109-113

[Article by Christian Charles: "The Copper Route"; Part 2]

[Text] Kolwezi is the mining capital of Zaire which is the sixth copper producer and the first cobalt producer in the world. However, due to the inadequate equipment of the national communications network and to the anarchy which prevails in the country, difficulties are encountered in shipping ores to Matadi, the only port leading to the high sea. To follow the copper route in Zaire is truly an adventure. We are publishing the second part of our special correspondent Christian Charles's report.

Likasi is an important marshalling yard for all copper trains.

Not so long ago, Likasi was a prosperous livestock raising center. You can still find there a few cans of evaporated milk, corned beef, bulk rice and, during the dry season, any species of caterpillars which Ernest is serving fried, boiled or in sauces.

Ernest is the train conductor. He is a man of about 30, a native of Kasai, the diamond province. Nothing distinguishes him from his mates, the fireman, the engineer, the handyman: it is a long time since SNCZ [Zairian National Railroads] could last afford to issue uniforms and caps to its employees. Ernest and his friends spend their lives in the cramped engineer's cab, sleeping on the floor, their heads on their bundled clothes. Ernest earns a little under 5,000 CFA francs per month. He is very proud of his job. He made us review the 15 copper and cobalt wagons to which we were coupled. The importance of the train, the first of such a tonnage in several weeks, did not escape him.

The trip to the river port of Ilebo was supposed to last three days and two nights. It was supposed to. From incident to incident, it took us a week.

Ernest had long learned to put up with such incidents which were trying only for our patience. Most were due to the great age of the equipment. In places, the rails were so worn out that they would flake off. Maintaining the maximum permissible speed of 45 km/h was becoming hazardous.

During these untimely stops, we could pay visits to friends of the railroad workers or spend small fortunes on skinny chickens which are called "bicycle chickens" because you still have to race them in village backstreets before they really belong to you.

Here, we lost half a day, the time needed to repair a brake block. The damaged part was straightened out with a hammer, without being heated. Further on, the train stopped for a whole night: like most lines in Africa, this is a single track line; traffic safety is ensured by means of an electric token: the conductor may leave a station only after receiving this token as a guarantee that the track is free. That night, the block system did not work. It was restored only in the morning. Elsewhere, we stopped again for several hours for reasons that were just as petty: a team headed by a Belgian cooperation agent was repairing the track. A thunderstorm had drowned the engine of the saw. The Belgian did not even have a screwdriver to fix it.

There were other delays which were caused by the sorry state in which the Zairian society finds itself. Here, protesters had pushed a tree trunk across the track. At Kananga, the region head thought it advisable to detain us half a day, time enough to keep us clear from a troop transport train that was preceding us.

We used the time to visit the town, the second in Zaire with one million inhabitants. Very politely, the museum attendant offered us some of the best specimens of his establishment. At the Grand Hotel bar, a colonel invited us for a beer.

When a Zairian soldier offers you a beer, you must know that you will have to pay for it. Especially if you decline to buy the precious stones he is offering you at a discount.

On the whole, we could not complain. In eight days, we experienced the difficulties encountered by SNCZ in ensuring a service that is vital to the country's economy. After that, we looked forward to the cruise on the river, all the way to Kinshasa, as to a reward.

Travellers in the express train which we had left in Likasi had been camping at the gate for four days. The mail boat had not arrived. It was not expected for another two weeks or so, and its potential passengers had transformed the potholed street leading to the port into a sort of caravansary for disaster victims. They had settled as close as possible to the entrance so as to embark as quickly as possible on this boat which, officially, was built for 300, although it will carry up to 3,000 passengers, 2,700 of whom as semi-stowaways...

We had imagined Ilebo like a large port opening on the high sea. It is a major bottleneck on the copper road. Its five puffing cranes cannot manage to load all the ingots which, in spite of SNCZ's shortcomings, pile up on the quays. Add to this the inadequacy of the river fleet: that day, only two barges were being loaded.

These barges enabled us to escape the lot common to other travellers. Thanks to the accommodative attitude of a port official, we were allowed to board the tugboat which was to take these barges to Kinshasa. We would have to live and sleep on the deck, but we were lucky. The Nkoye (leopard in Lingala) was supposed to have left a week ago—its delay was a windfall for us. It was scheduled to leave the next day at dawn for an 800-km trip which Captain M'Bokolo, a hopeless optimist, expected to cover in 5 days. Captain M'Bokolo's dream is to navigate in Europe, on the Meuse or on the Escaut, at least once in his life. Should his wish come true, that promises to be a sight: M'Bokolo is probably the only captain in active life who pilots a train of barges as he would drive a Ferrari.

All the same, his sportsmanlike driving did not enable him to respect the delays he had set for himself. Especially because, the water level being low, we could not navigate by night. Also, troops had embarked on another train of barges. They were scheduled to leave about the same time as the Nkoye. Not wishing to confront them in the open country, M'Bokolo had again delayed our departure by half a day. After that, he did his best not to catch up with them.

Thus, we eluded the troops for several days.

The Nkoye was carrying only copper and cobalt. Part of its holds was reserved for the cassava and corn collected along the river. Every time we came alongside near a village, a horde of porters shuttled between the traders' warehouses and the holds. According to the custom, one bag out of 10 is set aside for the crew. Any trader who would not follow that custom would never again see a boat of the national navigation company come alongside his warehouses.

"It can't be helped," M'Bokolo said. "I earn 10,000 CFA francs per month. That's barely enough for my cigarettes. I have two wives and six children. With the bags, we make a decent living."

The profit is distributed among the whole crew, the size of the shares varying with the rank. Because he wanted an oversize lion's share, M'Bokolo came near to causing a mutiny. It happened between Pangu and Yuki: the men stopped the machinery and occupied the bridge. They were determined; they had knives in their pockets, and their hands were on the knives. The parley lasted three hours. It was finally arbitrated by an elder, to the satisfaction of the crew.

The elder was a just man. He even insisted that we should get our share.

Obviously, M'Bokolo was upset. He went full speed and slalomed between sand banks. Until he ran one of the barges aground.

Under the impact, the steel cables broke and a huge bitt came loose. In the captain's defense, it must be said that the only maps he had had been drawn 20 years ago by the Belgian colonial administration. Since then, beacons have never been placed on the river at regular intervals and sandbanks have moved. To add to the confusion, the sounder in charge of estimating the river depth with a pole had gone to warm up his evening meal.

We spent the night in Yuki.

There was nothing the inhabitants of Yuki could sell to us or buy from us. The village, built around a saw mill, had been devastated a few months ago by marauding troops: most villagers had had enough time to flee. A peasant had been murdered, one young girl raped to death, the huts, the saw mill plundered. The culprits, a young man suggested, were said to have been executed. That information caused everyone to burst out laughing: "Where did you see that, tell us? Are you out of your mind?"

After a whole morning's work, we got our barge out of the sand. We had loaded more bags at Eolo, Mabeng, Seko, in the Bandundu country. Our holds were ready to burst. The tithe bags were piling up on the deck. Captain M'Bokolo had every ground to be pleased; that trip was to bring him about 150,000 CFA francs. Of course, we had covered only half the distance by the end of the fifth day, but now the captain could rush: the troops were probably at least a full day ahead of us.

Actually, their tugboat pulled us out the second time we ran aground, two days later, near Mushie. For a moment, we thought it would not make it. The emergency cable had not been passed through too cleverly and the girders holding the tugboat roof were popping off one after the other. From the bank, the soldiers were watching and laughing at the surprising sight of their boat falling apart under the effort. Nevertheless, the machinery held long enough to get us out of the sand but the night was about to fall and we would have to spend it alongside the military convoy.

Mushie is another of those ghost towns which line the national road. We walked through it in the most complete darkness, barely and quite inadvertently missing the soldiers who, under the pretext of identity controls, were exacting ransoms from the inhabitants: a forgotten or an expired identity card, or a card established in another province, or a card that was too dirty, or too clean, would bring its owner a fine of 500-1,000 CFA francs.

The siren of the Nkoye called us back urgently while we were still groping in the dark. As we arrived, a fight was going on on board and M'Bokolo had given the order to cast off: the soldiers were trying to plunder the cargo. Very gently, we ran aground a sand bank downstream. M'Bokolo would have done anything to preserve his property.

The pursuit started the next morning at dawn, in the midst of a fog that barely allowed us to distinguish the river bank. Fortunately, that last part of the Kasai forms a sort of estuary, the Kwa, which is navigable in all seasons. With the military convoy at our heels, we did not lose any of our meagre advance.

A sanitary control station had been established by the authorities at the confluence of the Kwa and the Congo-Zaire. Two armed patrol boats of the river brigade forced us to come alongside at Kwamouth. The troops following us refused to obey. Their convoy entered the big river, followed in its turn by the brigade's patrol boats. We never saw them again.

At Kwamouth, several tens of makeshift boats, boat people who were mainly small traders with a mass of bundles, mattresses, animals, women and children, were patiently waiting for the end of their quarantine. Considering the value of our copper and cobalt shipment, we had priority.

We should have arrived in Kinshasa the next morning since the big river is navigable at night. But after a few hours of navigation, we were surprised to see the Nkoye turn back: M'Bokolo explained to us that our successive delays had caused him to miss the appointment he had made a long time ago with Congolese smugglers: "Over there, cassava and corn sell for more than here. They export it all the way to Gabon. Also, they pay you in a franc-zone currency which is convertible. We gain again when we exchange it, on the black market. You don't think I am going to miss that!" Of course not.

Finally, M'Bokolo found his Congolese. They exchanged brief light signals. A long covered rowboat, a "whaling boat," came alongside. About 10 men and women came on board. After a long exchange of compliments, they negotiated the sales price and transshipped several hundred bags. A small fortune hidden under loincloths changed hands.

After all, we came alongside in Kinshasa the next evening, and could consider ourselves fortunate to have covered the 800 km of the river trip in 10 days.

The copper was not to be unloaded until the next day, Monday. Here, passengers and goods going on to Matadi and the high sea must take the train again since the rapids which close the Malebo pool prevent boats from going through.

We reached Matadi after a single day.

We were in time to greet the captain of a British cargo ship which was leaving empty. The copper it had come to load had not arrived on time.

9294

CSO: 3419/310

GOVERNMENT CRITICIZED FOR STOPPING SCHOLARSHIP AID

Brussels LE SOIR in French 8 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Etienne Ugeux: "The Sad Fate of Zairian Students in Brussels"]

[Text] Several organizations have denounced the Kinshasa government concerning the Zairian students living in Belgium.

The representative of the Solidarity Movement of Zairian Students criticized Kinshasa's decision to stop supporting students with scholarships, even those following an organized course of study in Zaire, as deeply unfair. He asked how one can explain the fact that among those affected by this measure are students specializing in scientific subjects which are unknown in Zaire, whereas the president grants scholarships for studies like political science.

Furthermore, the scholarship money for the 700 Zairian recipients always arrives 6 months late.

The representative of the solidarity movement also denounced "the collusion between the Zairian authorities and the Belgian police for the purpose of expelling former scholarship recipients who have refused to return to their country before completing their studies or before receiving the 6 month backlog of scholarship money owed to them." He also criticized the arbitrary way in which the Belgian police are beginning to require that scholarship recipients provide a certificate from a third party assuming responsibility for them as well as their certificate as scholarship recipients. Finally, he denounced the new measures adopted in Zaire setting requirements for access to higher education (pay a "minerval" and have completed one's baccalaureat with at least 60 percent of the possible points).

9855

CSO: 3419/210

EDITORIAL WELCOMES ANGOLAN-S. AFRICAN TALKS

MB171650 Lusaka ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL in English 10 Dec 82 p 3

[Editorial]

[Text] The meeting on Wednesday between ministers from Angola and racist South Africa over the Namibian independence dispute was most welcome. After all, the two countries hold the key to the future of the South African-occupied territory.

Many countries including the contact group--the United States, France, Britain, West Germany and Canada--have tried to settle the dispute, but they have failed in their mission because South Africa has been unreasonable.

Namibia would have been independent early this year if racist South Africa did not insist, with the backing of the United States, that freedom for Namibia was dependent on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Angola and the frontline states have rejected the linkage between the presence of Cuban troops in Angola and the independence of Namibia. Although the United States appears to be championing the Cuban troops issue, a solution can only be found after discussions between Angola and racist South Africa.

It is important for Angola to tell the South Africans that Cuban troops are in that country because they were invited by the government of Angola to defend the country from attacks by the racists.

It is also important for the South Africans to tell the Angolan Government why they want the Cuban troops to be withdrawn from Angola. Do they, for example, want a weak Angola so that they can invade her at will?

Although the South African regime is racist, it must appreciate that Angola is an independent country which has to fight and defend itself. And when a poor country is forced to defend itself from attacks by a powerful country like South Africa, it will need outside help.

This is a fact the South Africans must accept and it is the main reason why the Angolan Government invited Cuban troops. If the racist regime faced a similar danger, it would, without doubt, have invited United States troops to defend it.

The meeting between the Angolans and the South Africans was also important because of the presence of UNITA armed bandits in Angola. It is no secret that racist South Africa supports UNITA militarily and logistically.

The South Africans should denounce Jonas Savimbi and accept the fact that the government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos is the legitimate government of Angola. This can amicably be done through discussions.

All these facts seem to be simple but they are important to the South Africans who have been discussing the problems of Namibia and Angola through the contact group.

CSO: 3400/467



KAUNDA CALLS FOR INCENTIVE SCHEME IN INDUSTRY

MB201240 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 20 Dec 82

[Text] President Kaunda has said there is need for scientific incentive schemes to be introduced at levels in parastatals to influence higher productivity. Officially opening the 17th UNIP National Council meeting at Mulungushi Hall yesterday, Dr Kaunda said it was not only farmers who needed incentives to perform at higher levels.

The president emphasized that these things should be scientific and geared strictly to productivity in real terms. He called upon parastatal managements to take up the challenge of devising a bonus scheme which will achieve the twin objectives: rewarding exceptional productivity, as well as practical [word indistinct] physical involvement of workers in decisionmaking in their enterprises.

The president also urged management to establish a climate of job security without which a worker cannot find the fulfillment of his other (social) and civic responsibilities.

Earlier, Dr Kaunda said parastatal companies must operate on economic bases and on normal commercial lines, warning that the (?companies) must be gravely undermining the strength of their economic (?revenues) if they did not operate on commercial bases. He said for the parastatals to continue being vigilant, there was need for them to charge economic prices for their products, and that calls for a flexibility in the price control mechanism.

The president noted that the price control mechanism has been unresponsive to raising costs, and it has in the final analysis resulted in government putting up loans, grants and subsidies to offset losses. These grants and loans have to be raised from the increased taxation, direct and indirect, Dr Kaunda said, adding that this is an inefficient way of supporting industry.

CSO: 3400/467

KAUNDA CLOSES PTA MEETING, SALUTES LESOTHO

MB171850 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 17 Dec 82

[Text] President Kaunda has saluted the gallant stand taken by Lesotho over the barbaric South African raid and called on all progressive forces to unite in total condemnation. Dr Kaunda said in Lusaka today that the impressive type of courage and determination Lesotho has displayed gives him confidence that the subregion will succeed in all its plans.

Closing the inaugural Preferential Trade Area [PTA] authority meeting, he said the fact that Lesotho is still able to participate fully after unprovoked attacks by racist South Africa is a testimony of great resolve.

Reiterating Zambia's condemnation of the invasion and barbaric massacre of innocent women and children, Dr Kaunda said the moving narrative earlier given by Lesotho Minister Mooki Malapo was a very sad one.

Meanwhile, Dr Kaunda has warned against complacency among PTA member-states over the successful launching of the organization, saying there was need for continued hard work in order to maintain the momentum.

Earlier, Ugandan President Milton Obote called for mutual trust and confidence among member-states of the Preferential Trade Area. Dr Obote said some problems could arise in the course of implementing the PTA ideals because of some lingering colonial ties that cannot be easily broken, and it is up to Africa to confront these through collective effort.

Fifteen east and southern African countries attended the PTA summit. They include the Comoros, Ethiopia, Mauritius, Rwanda, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Others were Djibouti, Kenya, Lesotho and Malawi, while Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Tanzania participated as observers.

The summit meeting adopted several policy decisions mapped out by the countries' ministers meeting held to regulate PTA operations, and the presidents and heads of government delegations which met in Lusaka for the PTA meeting have strongly condemned the recent South African raid into the Lesotho capital of Maseru which left 42 people dead. In a communique issued at the end of the 2-day summit today, the leaders condemned the savage and unprovoked aggression by racist South Africa against the Kingdom of Lesotho.

CSO: 3400/467

## BRIEFS

TRADE AGREEMENT SIGNED--Zambia and Lesotho today signed a trade agreement aimed at cementing the bilateral cooperation between the two countries. Foreign Minister Goma, who signed on behalf of the government, said for a long time both countries have been eager to establish economic cooperation. Professor Goma said that Zambia's enemies are bent on destabilizing and frustrating regional cooperation, and there was need for full-fledged economic relations to withstand the machinations of the country's enemies. In reply, the Lesotho minister of trade, industry and tourism, Mooki Molapo, who signed on behalf of his country, said economic cooperation between the two countries will go a long way in fighting against the social evils of poverty and its offshoots of ignorance, hunger, disease and illiteracy facing the two nations. [Text] [MB171900 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 17 Dec 82]

MUGABE ADDRESSES PTA MEETING--The answer to the unequal distribution of wealth among nations lies in effective economic cooperation among developing countries. Addressing delegates attending the second meeting of the Preferential Trade Area [PTA] yesterday the prime minister, Comrade Mugabe, noted that developing countries share a common history of exploitation and subjugation. On the role of the PTA, Comrade Mugabe said priority should be given to food production, prevention of [words indistinct] food losses, food security, live-stock production and the development of fisheries. He stressed the need for self-reliance to counter increasing acts of aggression by the Pretoria regime, which is bent on destabilizing independent African countries in southern Africa. [Text] [CA172207 Harare Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 17 Dec 82]

KAUNDA WELCOMES OBOTE--President Obote is in Lusaka to attend the summit meeting of the Preferential Trade Area [PTA] heads of state, which opened in the Zambian capital yesterday. He was received at Lusaka International Airport by President Kaunda, top Zambian Government and United National Independence Party officials, diplomats and members of Ugandan community in Zambia. The PTA Council of Ministers has been meeting in Mulungushi Hall, Lusaka, for the past 2 days to lay ground work for the heads of state summit. Uganda was represented at the PTA ministerial talks by the minister of regional cooperation, Mr Samuel Tweungwa, and of commerce, Mr Aliro Omaro. [Text] [EA172200 Kampala Domestic Service in English 0700 GMT 17 Dec 82]

## ZIMBABWE

### BRIEFS

KOREAN RICE SHIPMENT--About 4,000 tons of Korean rice has arrived in Zimbabwe. A spokesman for the Ministry of Trade and Commerce says a system of distributing the rice is being looked into by the responsible ministry. He said the authorities are anxious that the rice reach the consumers as quickly as possible. [Text] [MB210814 Harare Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 21 Dec 82]

TANZANIAN OIL--The chairman of the Tanzania-Zambia oil pipeline, Comrade (Chissanga), said oil is now flowing from Dar es Salaam following a cutoff of supplies last month. He also says the refinery at Ndola has started processing oil. Pumping of oil from Dar es Salaam to Ndola had been suspended in November because Zambia lacked foreign currency to pay for it. [Text] [MB180801 Harare Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 18 Dec 82]

TRADE AREA MEETING--Zimbabwe is to host the next meeting of the preferential trade area of east and southern Africa. A communique issued in Lusaka at the end of the 2-day meeting of PTA member states said the meeting will be held in December next year. The communique urges those who have not signed the PTA treaty to do so. Commenting on the meeting the prime minister, Comrade Mugabe, described it as a success. [Text] [MB180802 Harare Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 18 Dec 82]

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END